R Plattes

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

The profitable INTELLIGENCER,

Communicating his Knowledge for the Generall good of the Common-wealth and all Posterity.

Containing many rare Secrets and Experiments (having reference to a larger Book) which being well observed, and industriously practised, according to the Directions therein by all the Inhabitants of *England* in generall, will recover the Wealth of the Kingdom now so miserably wasted by these unnaturall Wars, and make it the most flourishing Countrey in the world, and cause more naked to be clothed, more hungry to be fed, more poore Virgins to be preferred in marriage, more sick to be healed, then Suttons Hospitall, the *Savoy*, and all the Hospitals and liberall Gifts in England have ever performed, by certain wayes which require no charge nor labour, but what every active person shall be double payed for

June 29. 1649

A Copie of the Letter, wherein the Discourse entituled, *Mercurius Latificans*, was sent enclosed to the Authors most worthy, and highly honoured Friend, Mr. *Samuel Hartlib*.

SIR,

YOur cordiall love to the Kingdoms good, being so clearly expressed to the world, not onely by your pen, but also by your constant practise in promoting of all good designes, which tend to the generall good of the Common-wealth, hath emboldned me to send you this enclosed Copie, desiring that you will be pleased to take care, that it may be forthwith Printed, and published, together with this Letter, which may be all contrived into one sheet of paper, if the Printer be skilfull: neither the Printer needs to fear any losse, nor you any dishonour by promoting of this laudable designe: for I have shewed the Copie to the learned, as well as the unlearned, to the rich as well as the poore, and all approve of it, and desire to have it as soon as it shall be published: they think it is a fine experiment to make good bread of an old shoe: and though they differ in opinion concerning other affairs, yet they all love to eat bread with one consent; and if they shall agree to practise according to their profession, which is to do their best endeavours to further the good of the publick, then certainly, the cards will turn, and we shall all win our money again by concord, which we have lost by discord, yea and twice as much more. And though many of these things which I would have to be put to the best uses, seem to be trivial, that is for want of understanding in the Readers; for in Genoa *as I have been credibly informed, it is an usuall practise, to buy barren land for little or nothing, and to carry good earth to it, and cover it so deep, as a spade or a plough may work upon it; but this practise would never countervail the first charge, unlesse they did usually practise another strange work, which is so common there, that if an horse, or a beast do dung in any street, or high-way, it is a marvell if some boy or girle do not take it up, before it be cold, so carefull are they, that the fertilitie of the Kingdom*

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ſhould not be diminiſhed: And though theſe boyes, and girles get nothing but pinnes and points, or ſome other trifles, yet in the generall the whole Countrey is made rich, and plentifull: Even as we ſee in a Bee-hive, though every Bee bring but a drop of honey at a time, yet it maketh up a weightie maſſe, and many of thoſe maſſes put together, do make up the great maſſe, which I have ſeen at Sturbridge Fayre, *which is able to amaze a man, that beholdeth it.*

When this Book is publiſhed, then I deſire you to think of the beſt way you can poſſibly imagine, that all the Inhabitants of the whole Kingdom may have knowledge of it generally; for knowledge that concerneth the publick good, ought not to be concealed in the breſts of a few. As for the large Book, to which this little one hath relation, there is no thinking of publiſhing of it, till we have obtained a Committee to examine witneſſes, and to print their Depoſitions in it: for Projectors have caſt ſo many bitter things into the publick Fountain, whereof all have drunk, and their minds are ſo poyſoned, that there is no other way to unpoyſon them, but to win their beleef and willingneſſe to practiſe, by ſuch depoſitions of Gentlemen of qualitie, which know the ſame as well as I my ſelf, and ſome of them have taught me, and I have taught others ſeverall Secrets, and ſome few I know my ſelf ſtill, and no man elſe in the Kingdom, for ought that can be proved; all which reſerved Knowledge in particular Breſts is againſt the Wealth of the Publick, and therefore ought to be made common to all, or elſe this Deſigne cannot proſper, nor the Kingdom flouriſh according to my deſire. As for your particular Encouragement I need ſay no more, but that by furthering of this friendly Advertiſement, and the perfecting of the Books to which it belongeth, you ſhall become a Furtherer of the moſt Charitable Deſigne that is now on foot in England, beſides the great and manifold Benefit that ſhall redound thereby to the Common-wealth. For I dare undertake that by the right Improvement of the ſeverall Directions and Experiments that ſhall be diſcovered, you ſhall undoubtedly cauſe more naked to be cloathed, more hungry to be fed, more poore Virgins to be preferred in marriage, then Suttons *Hoſpitall, the Savoy, or all the Hoſpitals or Liberall Gifts in* England *have ever performed. So I reſt,*

Your Bounden Servant,
Gabriel Platter.

Weſtminſter this 14. of
May. 1644.

WHen I peruſed the ſeverall *Mercuries* which go abroad, to wit, *Mercurius Civicus, Merc. Aulicus, Merc. Britanicus, Mere. Cœlicus, Merc. Veridicus, Mercurius Vapulans, &c.* I was ſorry that ſo much Wit, Labour and Study ſhould be ſo ſlighted, and produce no better effect; for I have ſeen them before they were a week old, to be careleſly hurled up and down, and ſometimes torn in peeces to light Tobacco, and other uſes not fit to be named. Whereupon I reſolved to try a Concluſion, to write a *Mercurie* that no man ſhould ſo abuſe, but he that is an enemie to himſelf, and to the Common-wealth. And therefore I have ordered the matter ſo, that no man in the Kingdom, which hath ſo much learning as to read it, or ſo much underſtanding as to hear it read with attention, but he may learn to gain a

thouſand

thouſand times the price of it to himſelf, beſides the generall good to the Publick. But before I tell my Readers what laſting and particular Benefit they are to expect, if they will follow thoſe Directions which ſhall be given them by the following Diſcourſe: Let all men that love themſelves, or the Common-wealth, and Poſteritie, take ſpeciall notice of a certain Book of Husbandry, intituled, *The Treaſure Houſe of Nature unlocked, and ſet wide open to the world, &c.* where they may plainly ſee, that as God is infinite, and men are infinite by propagation, ſo the fruits of the Earth for their food, and cloathing are infinite, if men will conſent to put to their helping hands to this commendable Deſigne.

The ſumme of the Book conſiſteth in ſhewing how this Kingdom may maintain double the number of people which it doth now, and in farre greater plentie: But whereas the price will be five ſhillings, and every mans purſe is not troubled with ſuperfluitie of Crowns, whom it concerneth; To the end that no man be diſcouraged, I intend to give a Book to every publick Library in the Kingdome, where any man may read it, and write out what he pleaſeth freely. Alſo I intend as ſoon as it ſhall be printed, that in Weſtminſter-Hall, and elſe-where at certain Signes then to be ſet up, the ſaid Book ſhall be ſold for five ſhillings, or lent for two pence a week, to every one that ſhall leave the money, or put in ſecuritie to return it ſafe to the owner.

The reaſon why it is not already printed, is for that it containeth many rare Secrets for the Health and Wealth of Men, and ſuch as will ſeem ſo ſtrange, and incredible to moſt men, that they will be likely to ſlight it, to the great prejudice of the Common-wealth.

Whereupon I am reſolved to wait the Lord of Heaven and Earths leaſure, till ſuch time as he ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to afford ſo much leaſure to the high and Honourable Court of Parliament to hear ſuch witneſſes as I ſhall produce, to the end that the Depoſitions being printed in the ſame Book, every Subject in the Kingdom, as well in great Cities and Towns Corporate, as in the Countrey, may be ſatisfied concerning the truth thereof, and ſo be more apt to yeeld unanimous conſent, which is all that is wanting for the full accompliſhment of this laudable work. And if any man be extraordinarily deſirous to be further ſatisfied concerning this buſineſſe for the preſent, he may be allowed to peruſe the written Copies before the printing, as many have already done to their great contentment.

And I wiſh no man to think that this is a device to exhauſt his purſe; for the truth is, I wrote the ſame for no other cauſe, but becauſe I ſaw that all thoſe books, which were formerly written upon this *Subject*, were written by men which had not attained to any conſiderable *Perfection in the Knowledge of Nature*, and ſuch as had but a glimmering light of ſuch great Secrets, as Nature hath heretofore locked up in her Store-houſe, and ſo were ignorant in the fundamentall points and cauſes of Vegetation and Multiplication. Whereupon I concluded that the Teachers and the Teached were nothing elſe but the blind leading

of the blind, by which we all fell into the ditch; I mean we lived in want and miſerie, when we might more eaſily have lived in plentie and proſperitie.

This is the firſt Pamphlet that I wrote ſince the beginning of this Parliament, and I intend it ſhall be the laſt; let every one make uſe of it, whom it concerneth freely; which is every one that draweth breath in this Common-wealth, or ſhall draw breath in future ages in it: It is ſufficient for me that I have not buried my talent.

As for the particular way, whereby this wonderfull improvement may be brought to paſſe, here is no roome in this penny book; therefore I will onely ſhew how every one in the Kingdom, as well in great Cities, as in the Countrey towns may be an helper in this happie work, and raiſe ſome conſiderable gain to himſelf, and that great Cities which in former times devoured the fatneſſe of the whole Kingdom, may yeeld a conſiderable retribution yeerly without any mans prejudice, ſo that the fertilitie of the Countrey needs not be ſo much diminiſhed as in former times.

And therefore every one is deſired to take this one thing into conſideration, that as any parcell of good land, being kept in paſture, and having the dung, which it breedeth, ſpent upon it, doth continue fertill for ever, without any other addition: ſo the excrements, and materials, which any family produceth, being well contrived, will produce yeerly as much bread, and drink, as that family ſpendeth for ever.

But the better to ſtir up all poore maid-ſervants to put to their helping hand, let them be pleaſed to underſtand, that I taught a poore woman to get 3. pounds a yeer, which ſhe hath continued many yeers, without any conſiderable labour, or neglecting her other occaſions, and thus ſhe practiſed.

When ſhe waſhed, and ſwept roomes at her neighbours houſes, inſtead of caſting many materials to the common dunghill, ſhe took them home with her at night, and laid them in a corner, and once a yeer, ſhe ſold them for above 3. li. Beſides ſhe laid aſide every yeer as many linen rags as yeelded her fourty ſhillings, and her labour in receiving her five pounds from the Bargeman, or thereabout every yeer, was almoſt as much as all her other labour, I mean extraordinarie labour.

If young poore maid-ſervants will imitate her induſtrie, I will tell them the whole Secret, to the intent that beſides the benefit to the publick, every one may get her ſelf a conſiderable portion; and to the end that many may be induſtrious in this laudable way, and that many thouſands may remember me, and my poſterity in their prayers, I will firſt ſpeak a good word for them to all generations to come, to wit, that ſuch an one, which by her wit, induſtrie, and providence, getteth her ſelf a portion of twenty or fourty pounds (which ſhe may eaſily do in a certain number of yeers, not very many) deſerveth as good a marriage as one that hath an hundred pounds given her by her parents, and friends.

And to the end that this may not ſeem to be a ridiculous relation, I will ſhew

the

the reaſons of it, and alſo the experience, and laſtly declare the ſeverall materials which I taught her to reſerve.

As for the reaſons, they are thus diſcovered, *viz.* the vegetable ſpirit of the world, by which all things do encreaſe and multiply, is ſometimes cloathed with a groſſe, and earthly fœculencie, as in dung, and more in ſome dung, then in other: ſometimes it is more purified from i s earthly fœculencie, and then it is far more effectuall, as we ſee by experience in London, that a load of ſhavings of horn is ſold for 50 ſhillings, or 3. li. a load of woollen rags is ſold for 30. or 40. s. when as a load of common dung is ſold for a peny, and many times for nothing but carriage away; the book formerly mentioned, will further ſatisfie any one that is inquiſitive, ſo I will proceed to declare the ſeverall materials which I taught her to reſerve: as for the linen rags ſhe reſerved thoſe before I knew her, and ſold them yeerly to the Paper-Mils, and I ſeeing her induſtrie, thought it a good deed, to adviſe her to reſerve all the ſhreads, and rags of woollen cloth as well old as new, all the ſhreads, and pieces of leather of all kinds as well old as new, all the horns, and hoofs of beaſts of all kinds, whether ſhaven, or not, that came in her way, all the hair, either in Barbers ſhops, or Tanners yards, or at the houſes of Butchers, and Cooks, where they ſcalde many hogs, and pigs, and fondly caſt away the hair, and to take up all the old ſhooes, and peeces of leather which happened in her way, as ſhe went about her ordinarie occaſions, and to work as often as ſhe could, at the houſes of Taylors, Shoomakers, Sadlers, &c.

For I have found by experience, that a load of the beſt common dung, will not produce corn worth above twentie ſhillings at three crops, unleſſe corn be very dear, and if it be far carried, then the labour, rent, and ſeed will conſume the gains, whereas a load of any of theſe materials formerly mentioned, will produce wheat, and other corn, worth above 10. li. though the price be reaſonable.

Theſe things being well conſidered, there is great reaſon why theſe materials ſhould not be fondly caſt away to the common dunghill in great Cities, or other places, whereas the greateſt part thereof is utterly loſt; and though ſome of them go to the dunghill, yet they ſerve onely to enrich land, which lieth neer to great Cities, where there is no need of them, whereas being reſerved by themſelves, they will quit the coſt to be carried 20 or 30 miles, and ſo make land fertill, which beareth not half the quantitie for want of dung.

And whereas I have found by experience, that a load of any manner of ſeeds, whatſoever, doth contain as much of the vegetable ſpirit of the world, as ten loads of common dung, I could wiſh, that all ſuch young men-ſervants, as have no Stocks nor Trades, ſhould get them ſervices, in great Innes, or to be Bayliffs of Husbandrie to great men, and to reſerve all the hay ſeeds that come within their reach, and all the ſoot that is ſwept down out of the chimneys, that they can get, and once in a yeer to get ſo much blood at any Butchers, or Poulterers houſes, as will make them into a paſte, and then to adde ſo much cow-dung dried to them, as being tempered with urine, will be ſufficient to make the whole maſſe apt to be formed into the form

of bricks, loaves, or cheeſes, and then they are to be laid up in a dry place, till they be throughly rotten, and that a ſmall quantitie thereof being made into powder will not produce any thing ſuddenly, being ſpread in a garden or other open place where the rain may fall upon it, without the help of new ſeed, then though their common dung will yeeld no price at all in that place, but rather they are forced to pay money to have it carried away, yet this will give them a large price, after that the vertue thereof is known.

And if any ſuch men-ſervants have means to farm certain Acres of barren land, which lieth ſo remote from dung, that the annuall rent thereof is little, then by ſetting of wheat, or other grain, by my directions in my book formerly mentioned, they may make one quarter, or one pounds worth of corn, to yeeld 40. quarters, or 40 pounds worth of corn in leſſe time then one yeer, and as much over, and above, as ſhall pay all charges, and workmen nobly, and alſo as much rent as any ordinary Farmer can affoord to give yeerly for it, by which means he may in a few yeers get a conſiderable Stock, and be as likely to thrive as he that hath twice ſo much given him by his parents, or friends; and I could wiſh all ſuch men to marry with ſuch women as by their wit, induſtrie, and providence have gotten themſelves portions by my directions in this little book: and let the others which have portions given do the like, and try concluſions whether of them thriveth better.

If any one ſhould be ſeen to caſt away good bread, when ſo many poore people want it, then all the world would cry ſhame upon him; but why ſhould not the caſting away of any of theſe materials fondly, be reputed a more hainous ſin, when as they will produce divers times their weight of as good bread as any Prince eateth.

I have ſeen by experience, that Salt-peter is the moſt rich compoſt in the world, to multiply corn, and I have ſeen fiftie pounds worth of Salt-peter extracted out of a vault at Dowgate, not very ſpatious, which was formerly an houſe of office, and not emptied till the matter was throughly rotten, why may not the ſame thing be done by Art, which was formerly done by Nature, and accident? I have been credibly informed that ſuch a work is ordinarily done, in the Kingdom of China, and alſo at the City of Paris in France, and I ſee no reaſon why Engliſh men ſhould not have as much wit as they.

If any man hath convenient roome to build two houſes of office, and to cloſe up the one whileſt he uſeth the other, then there can be no queſtion, but that inſtead of the charge of emptying, and noyſomneſſe of the ſmell, he may have it emptied for nothing, and feel the ſweet ſmell of money very gratefull to moſt men, and that in as great quantitie, or greater, then he receiveth for his ordinarie edifices: beſides that he will ſhew himſelf to be a good member of the body politick, or Common-wealth, wherein he liveth: but he muſt beware, that the matter do lie drie, and that no adventitious moiſture come to it, either from beneath, or from above, which will be ſomewhat more chargeable in moiſt grounds, then where the earth is very drie by its own nature.

And

And whereas it is clear as the Sun, that the fleſh and blood of a beaſt is five times as good as the dung of a beaſt, and that the skinne, haire, wooll, horns, and hooſes, are ten times as good as the dung; and that theſe things are at the leaſt the third part of the fertilitie and wealth of the Kingdom, and that theſe things are for the moſt part loſt, and caſt away for want of generall knowledge: I could wiſh that every Houſholder in the Kingdome would make uſe of this book, and let it be common for all his familie, to read, or heare it read, to the end that ſome conſiderable quantitie thereof might be preſerved, the price is but a penny, the ſoote in everie ones chimney will pay him againe, for a buſhell of ſoote will produce two buſhels of wheat, if it be well ordered, becauſe it aboundeth much with the vegetable ſpirit of the world, by which all ſublunarie things do encreaſe and multiply.

And whereas there is much food of all kinds ſpoiled for want of looking, as muſtie corne, mouldie cheeſe, ſtinking fleſh, and fiſh, alſo if any man have any horſes, or beaſts, that die by accident, let all men be pleaſed to receive inſtructions in the ſaid book formerly mentioned, how to recover ſome conſiderable ſhare of their loſſes; and if any one cannot find out ſome way or other to benefit himſelf more or leſſe, by the reading of the ſaid book, beſides the good to the publick, let him lay the blame no where elſe but upon the weakneſſe of his own underſtanding, for it will be proved againſt him, that ſome have advanced their revenues above a thouſand pounds *per annum*, by ſome ſmall part of the skill contained in the ſaid book. And if every poore ſervant cannot get themſelves portions of conſiderable value, by reaſon that their maſters houſes afford not ſtore of ſuch materials, nor ſpare roome to lay them in, then let them get five ſhillings a yeer, that they may do in the pooreſt houſe in the Kingdome, yea the pooreſt beggars, that go from doore to doore, may get more then that, ſo ſhall they get themſelves every yeer a ſuit of clothes, if they buy them at the ſecond hand, and ſhew their love to the Common-wealth; and perhaps ſome good minded man, ſeeing their induſtrie, may diſburſe money for the accompliſhing of one crop, and take it again with intereſt, or without intereſt, out of the firſt part that is ſold, ſo will the remainder afford them a conſiderable portion. And though that waſte paper of all ſorts, either white, or brown, or written, or printed, be not verie good to make barren land fertill, yet it will make good paſſe-board, the white is worth three farthings a pound, and the other an half penny a pound to make brown paſſe-board good to cover books, and all other things where the colour is hidden in the work, and therefore worthy to be reſerved, for in ſome houſes it is of very conſiderable value.

And let all men be pleaſed to take into ſerious conſideration, that as in everie centurie of yeers there do more people die, then are in the world at any one time; ſo in everie centurie of yeers, there is more Wealth loſt fondly for want of knowledge in England, in the compleat Art of Agriculture, then is in the Kingdome at any one time, yea though an Inventorie were taken, and valued at Michaelmas, when the whole yeers fruits are engroſſed together, which ſumme will double through-

throughout the whole Kingdome, (especially in the Countrey) to the like Inventorie taken at May day, when the yeers fruits are almost wasted, and little remaining but hopes, which are not usually put into Inventories.

Whereas it will plainly appear to all rationall men, that I wish well to all in generall, let them be pleased to accept of one friendly advertisement more, for a parting blowe, Christ saith, he that is not with me, is against me, admitting of no neutralitie: and I say, that whosoever doth not according to his abilitie, and opportunitie, further this blessed work, more or lesse, liveth in a destructive way to the Common-wealth, or body politick, whereof he is a member, though an unworthy one, and justly deserveth to be cut off after admonition, which an ingenious publication of this book will perform in such manner, that whosoever shall fondly cast away any materials, which will produce bread, cannot expect any other sentence at the great day of account, but the very same which all those are like to receive, which have taken childrens bread, and cast it to the dogs.

Now for my conclusion, I will make bold to borrow it out of *Geber* his book, an Arabian Prince, and a famous Phylosopher, because my wit will not serve to endite a better: he when he had found out the profound Art of transmutation of metals, said, *Facilius est aurum construere, quam destruere:* and I say, that it is more easie for any Kingdome to live in happinesse, plentie, and prosperitie, if all were willing, then to live in miserie, indigence, and adversitie; he being over-joyed, and straying his wit for an admirable expression of his thankfulnesse to the sacred Deitie, for bestowing upon him that great knowledge, said thus; *Est donum Dei altissimi, qui cui vult, largitur & subtrahit, benedictus ergo sit Deus sublimis, glorioſus, & omnipotens, & benedictum sit ejus nomen, in secula seculorum:* And all that have seen this Copie before the printing, are confident that it will do more good in the world, then ever the Phylosophers Stone did yet since the world began, whereupon I suppose I may lawfully make use of his conclusion.

Psal. 41. vers. 1.

Blessed is he that considereth the poore and needie: the Lord will deliver him in the time of trouble.

FINIS.

Printed according to Order.

For *T. U.* at the Bible in Woodstreet.

THE SHEPHEARDS ORACLE:

DELIVERED

IN AN

EGLOGUE.

Virg.

--v *Pan curat oves oviumq; magistros.*

June 21 1644 Oxon
19.

Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

To the Readers.

WHoſe ſoever theſe Lines were, Readers they are now yours. The Authors name is obſcured, not for that he dares not owne them, but that he will not. The Senſe of this Eglogue is covered with a vaile, but ſo thin that an eaſie eye may tranſpect it. Lord, what times are theſe, when harmeleſſe Truth is daſht ſo out of Countenance, that ſhe dare not appeare but when ſhe comes in a diſguize! If I have done the Author wrong in publiſhing his Lines, not according to his minde, be you candid in protecting them according to their merit.

EGLOGVE

Philarchus, Philorthus, Anarchus.

Philarchus.

SHepheard, ah Shepheard, what ſad dayes have we
(More ſad then theſe ſad dayes) ſurviv'd to ſee!
How is the guilt of our forefathers crimes,
Revengd on us in theſe diſtracted times!
How is the Shepheards honour, that while ere
Shone like the morning Star; and did appeare
To all the world, like *Heraulds* to make knowne
Th' aproaching Glory of the riſing *Sun!*
How is that honour dim! how is her light
Clouded in ſhades of Ignorance and night!
How is our Calling ſlighted, and that power
Our Maſter lent us, threatned every howre!
How are our worried Names become the ſcorne
Of every baſe Mechanick! rent and torne
In every vulgar mouth? reproacht and made
Delinquents, judgd by every triviall Trade!
How are our perſons ſcornd, contemnd, revild,
Nay even by him whoſe ſchoole-inſtructed child
Jeeres at his ignorance; and oft by him
Whoſe ſinking fortunes teaches how to ſwim
With zealous Bladders, being apt to ſteale

Advantage from the times, and trade in Zeale.
How are we growne the By-word of the land,
Commanded now, where late we did command!
Preſt like a Vintage, banded like a Ball?
Deſpiſd of many, and diſpriſd of all!

Philorthus.

True my *Philarchus*; Shepheards never found
So hard a time; Ah fortune never frownd
So ſterne till now; Preſumptious Ignorance
Had nere till now the boldneſſe to advance
Her beetle browes, or once to tread the Stage
Of this bleſt Iſland in ſo bright an Age.
But ah! when Lights grow dim and dull, what hand
Can keep out darkneſſe? who can countermand
The melancholly ſhades of ugly night (light?.
When heaven wants Lamps, or when thoſe Lamps want
Come Shepheard come, (here's none but Thee and I)
We taxe the Times, but could the times reply
They'd vindicate their evils, and lay their crimes
On us poore Shepheards that thus taxe the Times.
Had we burnt bright, had our refulgent Rayes
Given luſtre to the world, and fill'd our dayes
With glorious brightneſſe, how had darkneſſe found
A place for entrance? where could ſhadowes ground
Their ayery errands? or what ſoule could taint
Our Sun-bright names? what evill could cauſe complaint?
How bleſt! how more then bleſt had Shepheards been,
Had

Had Shepheards beene ſo happy to have ſeene
But their owne happineſſe; Had the waxen wings
Of their ambitious thoughts not aymd at things
Beyond their pitch; Had they beene wiſe to move
In their owne Orbes, and not like *Phaeton* rove
Through the wilde Labyrinth of th' Olimpick Tower,
And ſearch'd the ſecrets of too vaſt a power,
Their Glory had not found ſo ſhort a date,
Nor cauſd combuſtion in ſo calme a State.

Philarchus.

Admit all this *Philorthus* (for who can
Conſider frailty and not think of Man?)
Shall ſome few ſtaines in the full Lampe of night
Cry down the Moone, and wooe the Stars for light?
What if thy too neglected Soyle abound
With noyſome Weeds? wilt thou diſclaime the ground?
Or wouldſt thou dry the earths full breaſt, that feeds
Thy fragrant *Flowers*, becauſe it Foſters Weeds?
Ah, my *Philorthus*, thus the cauſe now ſtands
With us poore Swaynes, The power of our hands,
Entruſted there by our all-wiſe God *Pan*,
(To whom the frailties of collapſed Man
Was knowne too well) for ſome diſorders growne
Among us Swaines is cry'd, is voted downe;
And that faire Livelyhood that late maintaind
Thoſe love-preſerving Feſtivals which chaind
Our mutuall hearts in links of love; which clad

The naked Orphan, and reliev'd the ſad
Afflicted Widow, and releas'd the bands
Of the leane Priſoner grip'd with the hard hands
Of his too juſt Oppreſſor; this they ſay
Is to be ſhortned, if not ſnacht away.

Philorthus.

Ah, gentle Shepheard, heaven, ah, heavens forefend,
Thoſe Tydes ſhould ebb that flow to ſuch an end;
But ſome we feare bin more corrupt then ſo;
They'r two things, what they ſhould, and what they do.

Philarchus.

True my *Philorthus*, ſome lewd Swaines there be
That have more Bags then Bowels, that can ſee
Pale miſery panting at their Lordly gates,
Anſwerd with Statutes, and repulſive Rates;
Whoſe hard, whoſe Adamantine eare can brooke
The ſad *Complaints* of thoſe (who cannot looke
Beyond the Proſpect of conſuming Griefe)
Without Remorſe at all, without Reliefe;
Whoſe wanton *tables*, deckt with coſtly fare,
Pamper their idle bodies, and prepare
Oyle for their Luſt, whoſe craving thoughts, made poore
With too much wealth, condemne themſelves to more;
And ſuch they be *Philorthus* whoſe lewd fames
And lives have poyſond the illuſtrious names
Of reverend Shepheards, whoſe ambitious Pride
Hath brought contempt, and made the world deride

What

What late it honour'd; now diſdaind, abhord
By whom they were as much, ere while, ador'd.
Ah Shepheard theſe are they whoſe vaine Ambition
Made us ſad Partners in the worlds deriſion;
But that which wounds my ſoule beyond redreſſe,
And aggravates my griefe above exceſſe,
Thoſe *Paſt'rall* ſtaves wherewith thoſe reverend Sages
Of former times have rul'd ſo many ages,
And by a ſettled Government, exilde
Confus'd diſorder, the prodigious Childe
Of factious *Anarchie*, Thoſe Rods of power
That rul'd our ſwaines by day, and did ſecure
Their Folds by night, are threatned from our hands,
And all our Flocks to bow to new Commands.

Philorthus.

It cannot be, the great Aſſembly's wiſe;
Has many Heads, and twice as many Eyes,
Eyes bright as day, that view both things and times,
Faſt cloſd to Perſons, open to their Crimes:
Judgement, not Fancy, moves in that bright Sphere;
There are no Ends, no by-Reſpects are there:
The care of Truth and zeale of publique Reſt
Reſts in their reſtleſſe, their united breſt:
Heav'n be their Guide, and may their paines encreaſe
Heav'ns glory, and this glorious Iſlands peace;
Ah, thinkſt thou Shepheard, their heav'n-guided heart
Will venture to decline his wayes, or ſtart

From

From Heav'ns Example ? Heav'n was pleaſd to beare
With very *Sodom*, had but ten been there
That had beene righteous ; loath to mixe the blood
Of guilty thouſands with ſome few of good :
No queſtion Shepheard but the enormous crimes
Of our Profeſsion, heightened vvith the times,
Are foule enough; nor could ſuch Actions lye
Conceald and clos'd before ſo cleare an Eye ;
And being ſeene, how could they chooſe but grate
The groaning Feoffees of our tottering State ?
Hovv could our growing greatneſſe chooſe but blovv
And quicken up their zealous flames ? or hovv
Could our untam'd Ambition hope to ſtand
Againſt the power of ſo great a hand ?
But they are juſt and vviſe, and vviſdome ſtill
Shevvs rather vvhat it can, then vvhat it vvill.
When publique Juſtice threatens, it propounds
Way for amendment, rather then confounds :
And far leſſe coſt and dammage vvill enſue
To vveede old Gardens, then to dig a nevv.

Philarchus.

True, Shepheard, But they plead for vvant of dreſsing
Our Garden's forfeited, and they are preſsing
Hard for Reentry ; They have ſeald a deed
Upon the ground, intending to proceed
Next Tearme t' Ejectment, by vvich meanes they'l ſtand
A nevv poſſeſt and re-enjoy the Land.

Philorthus.

Philorthus.

Shepheard, we hold in Ferme from great god Pan;
His Counſell drew the Leaſe; If wiſer Man
Can finde a flaw, our weakneſſe muſt appeale
To Pan's *Vicegerent*; He will vouch the Seale
Faire and authentick: If the Common Lawes
Condemne our Right, by vertue of that Clauſe
Of heedleſſe Forfeiture, O then vve flye
To be reliev'd in the high *Chancery*,
That uncorrupted Court that now does reſt
In the great Chamber of th'Aſſemblies breſt:
Ther's Judgment there, vvhich idle heapes of gold
Deſpaires to bribe, And Conſcience there's unſold:
Poore Shepheards, there, ſhall find as faire acceſſe,
As Peeres, as Princes, and as juſt redreſſe.

Philarchus.

Heav'n be our great Protection, and cloſe
Their ſuits-attending eares againſt all thoſe,
Whom rayling Ignorance, and frantick Zeale
Hath onely taught the way to ſay, and ſeale,
And ſet their marks, not having skill to ſhape
A letter; or, without a Lye, to ſcape
The danger of *Non legit*, whoſe profeſsion
Is onely to ſcorne *Lambeth*, and diſcretion:
Theſe be fit men *Philorthus* to deſcend
Into theſe Liſts, ſweet Champions to contend
About theſe Myſt'ries, likely to confound
Thoſe famous Worthies that have ſearcht the ground

Of Sage Antiquity; wherein of old,
Our Government was wrapt, and ſtill enroll'd.

Philorthus.

Come Shepheard come, our great Aſſemblie's wiſe,
And for a while, in policy complies
With the rude Multitude, vvho muſt have day,
To breath their Humours, which would elſe breake way,
Like earth-impriſoned Aire, vvhoſe ſudden birth
Startles the world, and ſhakes the ſhivering earth:
It is the nature of the vulgar breſt
Still to miſlike, and count that *State* the beſt
Which they enjoy not; Pleas'd vvith Novelties,
They grow impatient of the old, and prize
What's next in hope; more happy in expectation
Then when poſſeſt; all fire to Alteration:
But Shepheard know; our grave Aſſembly pryes
Where they nere view'd, and lookes vvith clearer eyes;
Their vviſdomes know, what *ſudden* Change portends:
Things raſh begun, too oft in danger ends;
But unavoided Ruine daily waites
On ſuddaine change of fundamentall States.

Philarchus.

I but *Philorthus*, vvhilſt the State complies
With the tumultuous Vulgar, tumults riſe,
And rude diſorder creeps into our playnes,
Swaines will be Shepheards, Coblers vvill be Swaines;
Flocks are diſturb'd, and paſtures are defac'd;
Swaines are deſpis'd, and Shepheards are diſgrac'd,

Orders

Orders are laught to ſcorne; and, in concluſion,
Our Kingdome's turn'd a *Chaos* of confuſion.

Philorthus.

Why Shepheard, there's the Plot: the ſureſt way
To take the Fiſh, is give her leave to play,
And yeild her Line; He beſt can cure the Cauſe
That markes th' effect; *Evill manners breed good Lawes*:
The vviſe Aſſembly knowing vvell the length
Of the rude popular foote, vvith vvhat a ſtrength
The vulgar fancy ſtill purſues the Toy
That's laſt preſented, leaves them to enjoy
Their uncontrolled wils, untill they tyre
And quickly ſurfeit on their own deſire,
Whoſe wild Diſorders ſecretly confeſſe
Needfull ſupport of vvhat they'd moſt ſuppreſſe:
But vvho comes here? *Anarchus?*

Philarchus.

'Tis the ſame;

Philorthus.

How like a *Meteor* made of Zeale and flame
The man appeares?

Philarchus.

Or like a blazing *Star*
Portending change of State, or ſome ſad Warre;
Or death of ſome good Prince.

Philarthus.

He is the *trouble*
Of three ſad Kingdomes.

Of Sage Antiquity; wherein of old,
Our Government was wrapt, and ſtill enroll'd.

Philorthus.

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Or death of ſome good Prince.

Philarthus.

He is the *trouble*
Of three ſad Kingdomes.

Philarchus.

Even the very *Bubble*,
The froth of troubled waters ;

Philorthus.

Hee's a *Page*
Fill'd with Errata's of the preſent Age;

Philarchus.

The Churches *Scourge* ;

Philorthus.

The devils *Enchiridion*

Philarchus.

The Squib, the *Ignis fatuus* of Religion :
But hee's at hand : Anarchus what's the newes ?

Philorthus.

In a *Browne* ſtudie ?

Philarchus.

Speechleſſe ?

Philorthus.

In a Muſe ?

Anarchus.

Man, if thou be'ſt a Babe of Grace,
And of an holy Seed,
I will reply incontinent,
And in my words proceed ;
But if thou art a Childe of wrath,
And lewd in converſation,
I will not then converſe with thee,
Nor hold communication.

Philorthus.

Philorthus.

I truſt *Anarchus*, we all three inherit
The ſelfe ſame Gifts, and ſhare the ſelfe ſame Spirit.

Anarchus.

Know then my brethren, heav'n is cleare
And all the Clouds are gon;
The Righteous now ſhall flouriſh, and
Good dayes are comming on;
Come then, my Brethren, and be glad
And eke rejoyce with me;
Lawn ſleeves & Rochets ſhal go down,
And, hey I then up go we.

Wee'l breake the windowes which the
Of Babilon hath painted, (Whore
And when the Popiſh Saints are downe
Then *Barow* ſhalbe Sainted;
Ther's neither Croſſe nor Crucifixe
Shall ſtand for men to ſee; (down,
Romes traſh and trumperies ſhall goe
And, hey I then up go we.

What ere the Popiſh hands have built
Our Hammers ſhall undoe; (Copes,
Wee'l breake their Pipes and burne their
And pull downe Churches too:
Wee'l exerciſe within the Groves,
And teach beneath a Tree,
Wee'l make a Pulpit of a Cart,
And, hey I then up go we.

Wee'l downe with all the *Varſities*
Where Larning is profeſt,
Becauſe they practiſe and maintaine
The language of the Beaſt:
Wee'l drive the Doctors out of doores,
And Arts what ere they be,
Wee'l cry both Arts & Larning downe,
And, hey I then up go we.

Wee'l down with Deanes and Prebends
But I rejoyce to tell ye, too,
How then we will eate Pig our fill,
And Capon by the belly:
Wee'l burne the Fathers witty Tomes,
And make the Schoole-men flee,
Wee'l down with all that ſmels of wit,
And, hey I then up go we.

If once that Antichriſtian crew
Be cruſht and overthrowne,
Wee'l teach the Nobles how to crouch,
And keep the Gentry downe;
Good manners have an evill report,
And turnes to pride we ſee,
Wee'l therfore cry good manners down,
And, hey I then up go we.

The name of Lord ſhall be abhor'd,
For every man's a brother,
No reaſon why in Church or State,
One man ſhould rule another:
But when the change of Government
Shall ſet our fingers free,
Wee'l make the wanton Siſters ſtoope,
And, hey I then up go we.

Our Coblers ſhall tranſlate their Soules
From Caves obſcure and ſhady,
Wee'l make *Tom* ? —— as good as my Lord
And *Ioane* as good as my Lady.
Wee'l cruſh and fling the marriage Ring
Into the Roman See; (hands
Wee'l ask no bands, but even clap
And hey I then up go we.

Philarchus.

Heaven keep ſuch *vermin* hence: If ſinfull duſt
May boldly chuſe a puniſhment, and truſt
Their own deſires, let famin plague or Sword,
A treacherous friend, or(what is more abhor'd)
A fooliſh-faire contentious wife, firſt ſeize
On our ſad ſoules,then ſuch wild beaſts as theſe.

Anarchus.

Surely thou art an Hypocrite,
A lewd falſe hearted Brother;
I find thou art a Child of Rome,
And ſmell the whore thy Mother.

Philorthus.

Away falſe *varlet*; come not neere my flocks;
Thou taint'ſt my paſtures; Neither Wolfe nor Fox
Is halfe ſo furious; They,by ſtealth,can prey,
Perchance, upon a Lambe, and ſo away;
But thy blood-thirſty malice is ſo bold,
Before my face to poyſon all my fold:
I warn thee hence; come not within my liſt;
Be ſtill,what thou art thought, a *Seperatiſt*.

Anarchus.

Thou art the ſpawne of Antichriſt,
And ſo is this thy Brother;
Thou art a man of *Beliall*,
And he is ſuch another:
I ſay thou art a Prieſt of *Baal*,
And ſurely I defie thee;
To Satan I will leave thy ſoule,
And never more come nigh thee.

Philarchus.

Philarchus.

A gentle riddance: O may never croſſe
Fall heavier on this Land, then ſuch a loſſe.

Philorthus.

But thinkſt thou, Swaine, the great Aſſemblies eye
Beholds not theſe baſe Sycophants that lye
Cloſe gnawing at the roote, as well as thoſe,
That with the *Romiſh* Axe, ſtrike down right blows
On the maine *body* of Religions tree?
Think'ſt thou their ſharp ey'd Providence can ſee
The Chamber Councels, and the cloſe deſignes
Of forraigne Princes, and their ſecret Mines
Of State Invention? Can their wiſdomes rome
Through all the world, and yet be blinde at home?
No, no; *Philarchus*, the Aſſemblies hand
Feeles but, as yet, the *Pulſes* of the Land,
Seeks out the ev'll; and, with a skilfull eye,
Enquiers where the peccant humours lye:
But when th'apparent *Symptomes* ſhall diſcloſe
The certaine griefes that vexe and diſcompoſe
Our univerſall *Body*; then, no doubt,
Their active Wiſdomes ſoone will caſt about,
To make a glorious *Cure*, which ſhall enhaunce
Heav'ns greater glory, ſettle and advaunce
The reſt of groaning *Sion*, to th'encreaſe
Of their own honour, and *great Britains* peace.

Philarchus.

Philarchus.

My bended knee ſhall never riſe till then

Philorthus.

Heav'n nere ſhall reſt, till Heav'n ſhall ſay *Amen.*

A word more to the READER.

THe Author, (as I am informed) being not over curious of this Peece, was made bold with, concerning the ſpeech of Anarchus; *which hath been nos'd by the Balad-ſingers about the ſtreets of* London, *with ſome additions of their owne, to make up a full penny worth: What you had then by ſtealth, now yee have by purchaſe, which with all the reſt you may lawfully (if you pleaſe) now call your owne.*

FINIS.

The King agains to Oxford is return'd,
Worcester and Abington in part is burn'd;
Prince Maurice quite from Lyme away is fled,
Hopton is raysing Armies from the dead.
At Essex name strong Garrisons doe quake,
And Wallers horse 400. horse did take;
Lesley pitty unto Yorke did render,
But Caron now doth call her to surrender.

Be Wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 14. of June, to Fryday the 21.

YOu may remember that I left you last weeke with a discourse of a divided Army in a royall pursuite; as *Paul* and *Barnabas* were in opinions, striving for the best to advantage the worke in hand, not agreeing they part one from another, *Barnabas* goes to *Cyprus*, and *Paul* to *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, as divine providence,

diſpoſed, and both to the advantage of the worke in the propagation of the Goſpell. Thus by the ſame providence (I truſt) the Lord *Generall* and ſir *William Waller* parted, one to the Weſt, the other to the North-weſt, for the advantage of the preſent deſigne, and the cutting off the enemies of the Goſpell.

We told you laſt weeke (and but truth) as was then entended, that the *Lord Generall* was to returne back from the weſt parts towards *Oxford*, &c. and ſir *William Waller* into the VVeſt; but ſince providence hath carried them ſo far diſtant, the enemy being potent and vigilent, much time would be loſt to bring ſir *William Waller* backe, by which the enemy would have great advantage, and we much prejudice in retarding the worke; beſides the particular danger of thoſe Counties North-weſt, who would neceſſarily ſuffer as the inhabitants of the Counties of *Oxford*, *Berks*, and *Buckingham*, have done ſince the *Lord Generalls* going away with all ſuccour from them, leaving them open to the malice of the cruell enemy, having ſhewed themſelves faithfull to the Parliament, and ready in all aſſiſtance to the *Lord Generall*.

Theſe things conſidered were argument enough, that the *Lord Generall* ſhould remaine in the VVeſt, and ſir *William Waller* in the North-weſt, to joyne with the Earle of *Denbigh*, ſir *William Brereton*, Colonell *Mitton*, &c. againſt the *Oxford-fled* enemy, aſſociated with the ſuppoſed Lord *Byron*, and the titular *Prince Rupert* with the ſavage Iriſh, rude VVelch, Papiſts, Atheiſts, and that prodigious crew of *Oxford* Lords, with their French, Spaniſh, and Italian Allies, &c.

Sir *William Brereton* came up to *London* on the Lords Day laſt, to ſupplicate the Parliament that ſir *William Waller* might remaine in thoſe parts, and it was conſented unto. One Munday night ſir *William Brereton* returned with joy to carry the newes, God proſper them in their deſignes both in the VVeſt, and North, and make his preſence to ſhine upon them, that they may be ſucceſſefull, to the glory of God, and the peace of the Kingdome; if there be any *Ahitophell* in the Armies that give wicked counſell, God diſcover them and give them *Ahitophells* reward; if any Traytors, let their treachery be their owne ruine, God make all our Generalls wiſe to diſcerne between flattery and honeſty.

On Munday there was ſome debate about the ſending for ſir *Philip Stapleton* from the Army, who is an able member of the Houſe of Commons, and as able and valiant a ſouldier in the Army, yet probable

hable to do better ſervice in the houſe at this time, then in the Armie.

The (valiant truſty and ever honourable) Earle of *Denbeigh*, whoſe acts of prudence and valour challenge praiſe, who being with his forces in ſiege of *Dudley Caſtle*, The King being about *Beaudly* and *Shrewſbury* with thoſe horſe that ran from *Oxford*, and ſome other adition, made an aſſault upon the Earle, intending to have taken him at advantage, but the prudent Earle, having had ſome intimation of their Deſigne, from Sir *William Waller*, drew his men off from the ſiege, and prepared to give them battell: Sent out his forlorne hope under the Command of Colonell Mitton, that valiant active Gentleman, the Governour of *Wem*, who incountered the enemy with ſuch reſolution and courage, that he was invironed about, and almoſt in their hands, inſomuch that the next Troopes retreated, as Impoſsible to reſcue him, but giving him for loſt: The Noble Earle ſeeing it, advanced unto the head of his Troopes, incouraging them to follow him, who were hardly drawn on; Yet ſeeing his reſolution, and action, who thus ſpake to them, *Come on, follow me, for by the grace of God, I will reſcue Colonell* Mitton, *or lay my bones in the place*, So leading up his men, he charged the Enemie with ſuch Gallantry, that quickly they began to retreat, and many of them fell, Colonell *Mitton* and the engaged forlorne hope was quickly freed, and the Enemie diſordered, a peece of Ordnance recovered which the enemie had in a manner gotten in their poſſeſſion, and at laſt the Enemie fled, Whom the Noble Earle purſued: He ſlew about 50 or 60. of the Enemie, and took in the fight and in the purſuit, about 48. priſoners, ſome of good account: And as they were in purſuit, within an houre and halfe after the fight there came from *Sir William Waller* to their aſsiſtance 200. horſe: Colonel *Ridgeley* did exceeding good ſervice in the purſuite, The Earl of *Denbey* loſt on Captaine *Glover* and 8. or 9. Souldiers, about 6. other officers were wounded.

After this the Earl of *Denbigh*, Colonel *Mitton* and the other commanders in thoſe parts, reſolved to joyne with *Sir William Waller* in aſsiſting one another, as occaſion required, and to purſue the Kings forces in thoſe parts: Which it ſeemes they have done. For in the Royall Chaſe followed by Sir *William Waller*, the hunted Hart being almoſt lodged, or neer taking ſoyle, made a duble, and put Sir *William Waller* to hunt counter, or be left at fault, for the Hart among the common Heard, is probably come back and recove-

red the firſt brake, where firſt he was Rowſed; A Heard of Raſcals, of two or 3000 are returned to *Oxford*, But the Hart deſired, flies from them who ſeek to preſerve him: Sir *William Waller* was hindered from cloſe purſuit by the plot of the enemy, breaking down all Bridges to ſtop his paſſage: The haſting out of the Auxiliaries under Major Generall *Browne*, is very neceſſary: what plot is in hande, or attempt may be made to breake into any of the Aſſociated Counties, we know not; it is good to fear the worſt, and not looſe a good game for want of playing it: a circumſpect fear, prevents the Danger, but ſecurity opens a door for calamity to enter; Let the Countries Arme to prevent harme: and go out to meet the Enemy before hee come to viſite them, had I wiſt comes too late.

Let the unanimous reſolute County of *Lancaſhire*, be a preſident; or rather a warning to all other, none more reſolute, nor none have done braver ſervice within their own Countey then *Lancaſhire*, for which they deſerve praiſe: But want of aſſociating with their neighbour counties, and meeting the Enemy in their confines, they are now a ſpectacle of pity: reſolution without diſcretion is but halfe preparation, and too much ſelf confidence, is accompanied often with ſad conſequence; *Lancaſhire* hath been too confident of their own ſtrength and Safety, and too little aſſiſtant to their neighbours: Now diſabled to defend themſelves, as their neighbours are to helpe them: I wiſh *Hertfordſhire* and *Bedfordſhire* would conſider it.

I ſhall not need to tell you of the loſſe of the town of *Leaverpoole*, taken by *Rupert* the Titular Prince, for it hath been related by others at Large: Yet thus much I muſt ſay, the Town withſtood the Enemy bravely, and gave them repulſe, with great loſſe to the Enemie: the town being not able to hold out, it lying on a flat, pregnable, They drew the moſt of their Ordnance, Armes, and Ammunition, to Shipbord, and Shipt the beſt of their portable goods: And alſo moſt of the Commanders, and Souldiers, thoſe excepted, who made good the Forts againſt the Enemie, while the reſt were got to ſhipboord, who afterward yeelded, deſiring quarter according to the law of Armes: Which the bloody Prince commander of the ſavage Iriſh, denyed to them, putting them all to the Sword; The loſſe of thoſe mens lives is the greateſt loſſe, onely the port is too convenient to land the reſt of the Iriſh Rebels, (*His Majeſties good Catholike Subiects*) and is the thing they ayme at. But I hope God will direct our Ships, and command both the Windes and Seas to fight againſt thoſe blood-thirſty Leeches, and give them blood to drink

one

one of their own bowels, *when they shall fall into the pit of Destruction, in the midst of their dayes: for the Lord abhorreth the blood-thirsty and deceit full man.*

From the leaguer before *Yorke*, by letters received on Saturday, we had intelligence that a parley was desired by the Earle of *Newcastle*, which put many in *London* into great hopes, that the City would be recided, &c. But on Monday come more letters bearing date the 15. of this instant, which certifies they had a parley on Friday last, the first parley was deferred, and afterwards will dispute about a generall cessation of Armes, during the parley, but the Lord Generall *Leslie*, Lord Generall *Fairfax*, and the Earle of *Manchester*, consulting, denied a cessation, except in that quarter where the Treaty was, observing (by some preceding preparation) that the Enemie had a purpose to break out through their quarters, which being prevented, troubled the Earle of *Newcastle*, as a Treaty not suiting his purpose; yet necessity brought him to it. The Treaty began about two of the clock in the afternoone on Friday, and held till late at night; The Earle demanded to march away with bag and Baggage, Armed, with drums beating, and colours flying, &c. Furthermore they demanded that all within the town should have liberty of their conscience, to use their Religion, the Prebands to enjoy their places, and to have the Common prayer, Organes, Copes, Surplices, Hoods, Crosses, &c. What soever is used by Popish idolaters they would have to be continued in use there, to beautifie the Protestant Religion which they professe to fight for. These things were denyed by the three Generalls, for there is a sweet harmonious union between them, firmely knit by brotherly Covenant, as brethren of one Kingdome, defenders of one truth, and members of one body, Christ Jesus being the Head, therefore not to be divided. They with one assent (by the mouth of their Commissioners who Treated) made the Earle of *Newcastle* this offer, (to prevent the shedding of blood) that he and every commander should ride out with their swords by their sides, and every souldier march away with their swords, and a fortnights pay, leaving all else behinde them, and that they should not plunder any man, and yet Levy by the Major of the Towne 20000 l. for the souldiers without: And then that every particular man should take a solemne oath never to take up armes againe against the Parliament, and to go to their own dwellings, and remain under the Parliaments command, so long as this warre continues; To this they would not agree, but had some

houres given to conſider better of it, either to yeeld or to expect what ſhould follow, which we with longing deſire expect every houre to heare, &c.

One thing more I muſt not omit to tell you, that before the Treaty there were ſeverall Officers appointed meſſengers to Prince *Rupert*, to haſten him to the releeſe of the City, which elſe muſt within few daies be delivered, there were eight or nine Meſſengers appointed, to the end that if but one could eſcape and get to *Rupert* it might ſuffice; the way deviſed by them to get out was by diſguiſing themſelves, and putting blew Capps on their heads as if they had bin Scots, and by this meanes and their diſſembling carriage they have got paſt our Engliſh Quarters, but afterward (by ſome meanes) they being ſuſpected were purſued, and were overtaken, and taken, except two who ran into a wood, one of which was alſo taken in the wood, and the other was ſearched for, which probable is taken too, but was not taken at the writing the laſt letters; thoſe that were taken confeſſed what their buſineſſe and meſſage was, as is before expreſſed.

VVe have ſome intelligence certifying that ſir *John Gell* is marcht into Leiceſterſhire, and joyned with the Lord *Gray*, and have now beſieged *Aſhby*, Colonell *Haſtings* houſe, and ſtrong Garriſon; if they take it they will take more then is the Colonells, and beſides better goods they will finde good ſtore of Pack-ſaddles, for he was ever a noble and valiant Rob-Carrier.

The brave ſouldiers of that long beſieged Garriſon of *Lyme* are not onely releeved by that ever honoured, active, and noble Prince, *Robert* Earle of *Warwicke*, as active to ſave as the worſt of *Germain* Princes are to deſtroy; he hath with ſome Ships, and in perſon for the ſpace of three weekes attended them, ſupplying their wants with neceſſities of foode, cloathing, and ammunition, all which they needed; and as he hath comforted them, ſo he hath diſcomforted their enemies, by putting many of his ſouldiers on ſhore into the Towne, and out of the Towne to fall on the enemy, which ſtruck terrour, together with the approach of his Excellency the Earle of *Eſſex*, whoſe name is terrible to the Oxonians; and his preſence affrights them at twenty or thirty miles diſtance: The younger *Germaine Prince*, with *Pauler*, *Aſhburnham* and the reſt, have taken up their *Maurice Pipes*, and are danced farther VVeſt towards Her Majeſty, their Hobby-horſes had but ill welcome this VVhitſontide at *Lyme*, the brave Lord of *Warwicke* hath ſent them to the Queene

to

to please her new borne little Son, women and children will make most of them.

The Lord *Generall* sent out a partee of Horse to the relieſe of Lyme, under the command of ſir *William Belfore*, but the *Morrice* was done, and gone; then thoſe horſe turned toward *Weymouth*, and after they had faced the Towne, and given them ſummons they yeelded, and foure hundred ſouldiers were content to leave their heavier weapons, and march away with ſtickes in their hands. The noyſe of *Lyme* and *Weymouth*, and the Lord *Generalls* terrour flew to *Taunton Deane*, and they have alſo quit that Garriſon, and dance after *Maurice* his Pipe; truely I cannot tell what to ſay to theſe things, but admire Gods mercy, whoſe hand is manifeſtly ſeene to worke out workes for us; what is this leſſe then that victory of *Gideon* againſt the *Midianites*, when the whole Hoſt ran away at the blowing of Trumpets, and breaking of Pitchers ſo that he purſued them with a great ſlaughter? If our ſins hindred not by covetouſneſſe, ambition, luxury, ſelfe-ſeeking, private diſcontents, and publique murmurings, &c. but that we would every one in his place ſet our ſelves to ſeek God, doe our duty, and by love ſeek the good one of another, ſtrive rather to give honour then to take honour, God would doe greater things then theſe for us; if men would ſeriouſly conſider that they are but men, and are made men for others as well as for themſelves, and that when they dye they ſhall live eternall, either in Heaven or Hell, according as they have obeyed God, and done good (not to themſelves but) to others for his ſake who commaneſ it; this conſideration would worke a change in mens minds and actions. God open our eyes and grant repentance, for all have ſinned, from the Peere, to the Peaſant; and all muſt repent, or periſh.

His Excellency is at *Dorcheſter*, within ſixe miles of *Weymouth*; he hath within three daies writ two letters to expreſſe his deſires, and expects order for his advance, &c. Many of the Country come to my Lord *Generall*, and his Army (if there were need) would quickly grow great.

Basing-houſe is (as was deſigned) conveniently blockt up, and the Vermin kept in; there is of horſe and foote above 2000. which ſurround the houſe at diſtant. The beſiegers at *Greenland-houſe* are at this time not ſo ſecure as I could wiſh, there being ſo many courſers come backe to *Oxford*. God ſend Major Generall *Browne* out quickly, the common vote is that he will be gone by Saterday or Munday; ſome of the Auxilliaries march out this preſent Thurſday.

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The laſt we heard of ſir *William Waller* was, that he was about *Bewdley* making up the Bridg, and to paſſe over Severne. About *Kitterminſter* ſir *Wil. Waller* ſurprized a partee of the Kings horſe about 400. in number, and with them ſome commanders of note.

Some miſchiefe the curſed crew of Cavaliers have done lately at *Worceſter* by fire, but much more hurt they have done at *Abington*, where they have burnt 60. houſes to the ground; *theſe are the men that ſtudy miſchiefe, and cannot ſleepe till they have acted it.*

Sir *Ralph Hopton* is raiſing men as faſt as he can in the Weſt parts, to adde to the Garriſons that he takes from the ſeverall townes, to make a ſcourvey Army, to attend him while he is beaten by his excelleſſency: But *Hopton* cannot raiſe his dead men; and the living will not follow him; he pickes up one by one till he get one hundred, and that in a weeks labour, and looſeth them all at once, in leſſe then one houre; *Poore* Hopton, *will be undone.*

From Sir *William Waller* is certified, that he being gone to Sturbridge to joyne with the Earl of *Denbigh*, to prevent the Kings joyning with P. *Rupert*, The King ſent backe ſome of his forces, towards Worceſter, which Sir *William Waller* ſuppoſed to be to draw him backe, that their forces might have the advantage in the way to *Shrewſbury*, and then after the King went with his whole Forces, but much deminiſhed by their haſty and tedious march, he went from *Worceſter* on Sunday to *Evaſham*, from thence to *Burford*, and from *Burford* to *Oxford*: The King having broken the bridges in the way, Sir *William Waller* could not march with his foot, but went with his horſe to *Evaſham*, from whence the King was gon 14 or 15 miles, And now Sir *Sir William Waller* is at *Parſhaw*.

From *Edenbrough* we are certified that the Parliament of Scotland did ſit down the firſt of this inſtant, that they elected the Earl of *Lauderdal* Preſident thereof. The generall Aſſembly did declare the oath taken by the Scottiſh Lords at *Oxford* to be blaſphemous, & have ſuplicated the Parliament to put a note of ignomie upon the ſame. The Aſſembly have ſent thanks to the Miniſters of Holland for their liberall contribution made for the Proteſtants in Ireland: The County of Northumberland is much waſted by the Cavaliers, not able to keep an army, which made the Earl of Calender ſtay upon the borders til proviſion were made of victual for a ſieg at Newcaſtle, and hence came the aſſercion falſly caſt upon the Earl of Calender, reported by evill affected ſpirits that he was committed; when indeed there was never any ſuch matter. From the Leagure is expected newes every houre, they are in very hot Service there.

Printed according to Order for L. C.

The true Character of a Noble 4

GENNERALL

een and Allowed of by His Excellencie,
The Earl of

ESSEX.

M

Written in Prose and Verse.

The Earl of Essex.

June 21 LONDON,
Printed by John Hammond, 1644.

The Epiſtle Dedicatory to His Excellence the Earle of ESSEX.

Ay it pleaſe Your Excellence, to accept the affectionated tender of your humble ſervant, for why your Noble and Iuditious Honor hath ſtill been held a Patron of the Muſes, a Lover of Arts, and Artlike Siences, and all good Arts ingenious man attaines to, Let not me then deſpaire, though the firſt dip of my weak forward Pen aſcend unto ſo high a Dedication, I gently crave it might not meet refection, becauſe it is my love, if ſo, it would quite kill my hopes prepared journey, and that ſacred Mount I now am labouring up, fall from't, and periſh, and made a ſcorne unto the Laurell tree, in my deſire to touch it, but noble Nature mixt with gentill Spirits, aſcends like Mirrh unto the ſaving Heavens, and gives the ſame deſire to you on earth, from whoſe favours warmth, I hope my ſpring flouriſh, and theſe few mixt Poems here in Proſe and Verſe, be mildly cenſured; and my obedient Service, with my love thought free from flattery, to whoſe Noble and Iuditious cenſure I recommend them unto Your Excellencies view.

And deſire to be found,

Your Excellencies moſt humble

Servant,

William Cooke.

The true description of a Noble Generall:

In Prose and Verse.

A *Noble Generall*, by the generall assent of the high voice of great Authority, being handed to the Piramide of Honour, over whose top the golden Truncheon, and the Verdant Wreath, his worthinesse as worthily receives, should be just such a man as hath it: In which discretion shewed her Master-piece in calling such a Pillar of the State to their securer and more State supportance, for as the lightning cleeres the troubled Aire, when hot contagion mixeth amongst the Clouds, and gives the Earth a healthier temperature: so choosing of a man whose noble minde in all his actions, was his Names expression, The peoples loves, in whose hearts hee was wrapt in, chose themselves forth to be his followers, forsooke their wives, their children and their States, And when his Drummes beat up old *Englands* March, and waving Ensignes cut the fleeting Aire, Their Airey spirits back't their mettled steeds, whose hot disdainfull pride champing their burnish't bits, foame-snow'd the earth, as scorning it should bare them: So diligence still waits upon love, And as a Generall in all his State, the very Pageant of Colossus warre, being heavens great man, should so be heavens good man, as questionlesse he is that weares this charge, for when *Mars* calls him to his maled throne, and with the Plumes of honour crownes his head, acquaints him with his whole artillery, shewes him the rules and husbandrie of Warre, brings him through all the cunning Labyrinthes, tells him his Statutes, Lawes, Edicts and Councells: with it the Christians Conscience, and the care, the golden Plummets of the hearrs even ballence, where pure integrity from hearts corrupt, reignes Monarch of the whole Celestiall frame, shaping his life so cleane, so white so good, that he defies all stratagems against him, though hell should for him make a *Machivill*, whose own hot braine contains the quintiscence of all that ever from that mansion leapt: Yet the just Souldier sonnes at him, and that, were all the dangers from the Corners brought, wrap'd up in Whirl-windes, on an Earth-quake mounted, and every danger usher'd with new death, according to the nature of each terrour? yet all this to the Noble Martialist, makes not feares breath so

ſtrong to ſhake the ſmalleſt haire upon his head, There is the confidence of honeſty, whoſe Hoaſte reignes under his command; with love: And where his love leads on with good diſcretion, not juſtled by vaine glory, thorough the applauſe of wide-mouth'd rumor, popularity but knows true Martial diſtance to an Inch, how to bring on with courage and with care, And with the ſame care to bring off againe, to husband lives to cheri[illegible], and repaire the ruines that red warre makes breaches thorough: not he that in a tempeſt hurries men like violent thunder, burſting through the Clowdes, to ſet his Souldiers at a doubtful ſtake, and at one caſt to winne or looſe the ſet to fill the fields with groanes of dying men, and Citie Hoſpitalls with halting Griples, making their deathes and maymes his recreation, and with hotterickes over-ruling ſway, contain their Loves obedience, tho ough fear to ſay He this and that did by his Valour, his fame-like terrour ſhouting through the eares of thoſe that gives the names of Enemies, ſuch Souldiers are, and men of great eſteem and praiſe, though there be difference in equality: Yet where ſweet mildneſſe ſwayes, it is the beſt, and ſhewes him moſt a Gentleman, to whoſe known deſerts, brave worthy Sir, in all things (ſance flattery) I give you but your due.

The ſame in Verſe.

WHo mount will to the top of Golden honour,
And there diſplay bright fame, and fortunes banner,
Muſt be diſcreet, and all his Actions ſuch,
Envie may tremble his fair Name to touch:
'Tis not to ſay I have been here and there,
In Holland 'gainſt the Spaniard or elſe-where;
Where teſtimonie of his valours ſoe,
Hee took a Towne, yet no're ſtrook a blowe.
How he was ſhot in ſcaling ſuch a Fort,
And how came off, making his paine his ſport;
How hee was threatned by the States to be
At leaſt an Enſigne for his Chevalrie
Such guilded motes, but dance in Souldiers beames,
Whoſe praiſe is like a bubble full of Dreames,
To this truthes hiſtorie of man ſaith ſo,
They weare the name of Souldier but for ſhowe,
But ſhaddowes baniſh, for I now diſcry
The riſing of the Sunne, whoſe glories high

There

There needs no more addition then thy Name
To get our loues, yet thou haſt gotten fame,
With it a Title of High Excellence,
Which doth ſo well become thee in my ſenſe,
That it is farre more honour'd in thy wearing,
Then is thy goodneſſe by the Titles bearing:
Great Sonne of Warre *and* Love, *put on thy Bayes,*
Expell Romes *Idolls, bring home Haltian dayes,*
That thy bright Fame in this Exchange of Warre,
May ESSEX *Name convert into a Starre,*
And may it to thoſe [illegible] thee not appeare
A Meteor to or'e-whelme their hearts with feare,
By goodneſſe I hate flattery, and yet my love is ſo,
I muſt run thus whether I will or no;
I ſhould with Injury abuſe thy Worth,
Giving thy High deſerts abortive birth,
If I not write my thoughts,
For if all that loves thee could or would thus doe,
What volumnes could be dedicate to You:
If it were otherwiſe Great Sir, bee's knowne,
People haue hearts that would not thus be ſhowne,
For two Conditions guides thee, popular ſtate,
Either pure Love, or elſe deteſted hate.
Bigg ſwells the ſailes where the ſtrong gale blowes full,
But a ſtill ſilence where affections dull;
Honour winnes Fame, either for ſtate or warres,
But he moſt merrits venters his for ſcarres.
Boeatus ſpread not forth her brazen wing,
Further then fame, the name of Souldier ſing,
Which Name the Teuted ſield beſtowes on Thee;
The Gule dipt warre, and braue Artillery:
The Fife, the Drum, and ſhrill Bellonaes noate
Of warre (great Captaine hath given thee the vote,
The Name thy Father had ſurvives in thee,
His Love, His Vertue is thy Legaſie.

ENVIE, a monſter who leapt out of Hell, being a brother of the deadly ſeven, can no contentment finde upon the earth, for ſtill his agony increaſeth here ſo that even the locall pit from whence he up aſcended, affords him not worſe torment then the earth, the hiſſing conſort of his Snake-weath'd head, ſhewes him a brother to fell *Meduſa*, who as his charmed power, turnes into a ſtone, and on the ſudden freezeth fleſh and blood into the hardneſſe of a Statue, ſo would he blaſt and ſting to death all living goodneſſe, that he knowes or heares of: for if a nature ſweet as the perfume, the heavenly ſpring breathes ore the Bryery bulds gives the ſunke eyes of Envie ſuch a viſite, how he flings ſcorching lightning after it, that had his Power entrance to his will, he would melt the very marrow thorow the bone, ſo thicke his forkt Artillery flies after it, Let vertue whiter then the Planets path, meeke as the Dove and harmleſſe as the ſleepe of tender Babes, though all the graces hung like ſtately ſemmes to deck the out-ſide of this edifice, and the three ſteps unto eternity, the outward ſigne Warr, for the parties knowing, yet what would this availe, o ever ſweeten bitter envie, gaul, but ſtraight he ſhoores reproaches after them, armes, hearts and hands againſt them like his own, ſpotting with infamy that ſilver robe, that wore a tincture like the morning light, before *Aurora* bluſh'd at *Tytans* riſing. ſpring: beautie, with the mixture of thoſe flowers that ever ſtrove for ſuperiority, the ſpreading Lillie, and the b'ooming Roſe, yet this foul Canker, both ill hew'd and ſcented, would ſuck the juice of Hemlock from the weeds, mixt with the rancour of her own foul lungs, from her more foul tongue, to blaſt perfection, wearing her eyes ſo fiery blood-ſhed with her indignation, that where ſhe not prevailes, ſhe turnes that hatred on her hatefull ſelf, and feeds upon her own deteſted Name, *Envie*, who from the breaking of the worlds firſt day, brought her Conſumption even along with her, ſtill bringing with it, till time make his ſtop, and all deſtroying death meet her deſtruction. Let honour, whoſe ever grafted ſtock ſprung forth ſuch branches, be poſſeſt with Natures whole encreaſe aſſiſted with the adition of rich Arts be his Helme, ſteered by the higheſt hand, and all his Actions leavyed by a line quar'd out of the hand of equity, ſtand he betwixt the Compaſſes two points, ſupported by the Goſpel and the Law, were his deſerts by higheſt powers compeell'd to advance up to the *Alpes* of State, p'um'd Honour, were he Commander of more lives then hairs, and had of every life a care, as great as the preſerving of thoſe blood-branch'd Veines, that iſſue from the crimſon Conduit-head, the bodies fountaine, where the thoughts ſit crownd, even his own heart, yet Envie would ſpit at him, and muſter up ill thoughts to fight againſt him, contempts, reproaches,

reproaches, infamies and scornes, Though goodnesse dwelleth at the signe of greatnesse, and heavens white finger point him out a man of Saint-like disposition and of sufferance, a smiler on his injuries with forgivenesse, whose inward concave is a schoole of pitty, the Master good Discretion, and his hands both word and Ballance swayes, Justice with equity, yet all this with his whole life guard of heart-loving friends, such as would emptey all their veines dry from him, and call new life to assist t'em (had they power) can make no ballworke to keep Envie out, but he will call his Conncell up against him, the swift-wing'd malice, arm'd with lasting hate, with all the Synod of Anatomies whose Skellitons of skin-o're-covering bones can weare no flesh, but bloods, their nourishment. Authority and power his hate pursues, grinnes at the pompe and state of Potent Kings, derides all Scepters, Rule or Covernment, and most splene belcheth where there is least cause, yet seldome dares this Caniball be seen, hee's of so base a coward disposition, but lurkes in corners. where he may obscur'd reigne over his disturbed self alone Monarch of frets, of self-devouring hate, if factions seede he sowes, brings forth no fruit, so that of all envies the poorest, and paies himself worst wages, is basest of all evills, and most despised by goodnesse.

The same in Verse.

SWell Envie *till thou burst: a good mans fence*
Dare stand thy power and Hell with Innocence,
I sit above thy Ire, let all thy spleene
Poyson thy arrows, make thy point so keene,
That fortune nor Fates fell hand,
Can ward or Check the power of thy command.
What pittie Lewdnesse *showes thy hell-borne minde,*
To be so verie brainelesly inclinde,
To warre against thy self: for wise men knowes.
Thou often strikst, but oftner feelst the blowes,
Thou art ever poore, ever unfortunate,
Nay, be it then, when thou triumphst in state,
Having thy ends: Here's that the world will say,
Twas Envie *did it, give the dogg his day.*
Thou durst not look the bould man in the face,
But Sculk in corners with thy actions base,
And there in secret fight against his Name;
Wounding his credit, and his worth defame.

Where

Where ſtill the Noble is, thy baſe aſpect
Foames out thy venome, and doth hate direct
To poyſon the cleer ſpring, for Envie ſtill
Forſakes the valleyes, and climbes up the hill;
Shrubbs he regards not, tis the Cedar tree,
Heel either ſhake, or ſcorch with infamie:
The low grounds lie ſecure, the mountain top,
The ſtormy clowdes doth up in tempeſt wrap,
Hell is all envie, yet nor them nor thee,
With all their fiery Legions can blaſt thee.
Fix Pelion *and* Oſſa, *on whoſe high top,*
Once more let envie into hell down drop,
Blow him about in windes, or let blue fire;
Lay Envie for his envie, Hells hot fire
Take him from amongſt us, for tis hee
With Englands *blood, writ* Englands *tragedy;*
Sinke him for ever to the depth of Biſſe,
For robbing us of our firme peacefull bliſſe;
O once againe may the faire Olive tree,
The Parliament *unite with* Majeſtie:
His Majeſtie with them, that broyles may ceaſe,
And welcome England *to her former Peace;*
That Romes *high Babell, with her triple Crown,*
May fall to raiſe the Proteſtants renowne,
That envie ever may forſake this Clime,
And each man live under his fruitfull Vine.

FINIS.

Numb. 35.

The true Informer:

Continuing a Collection of the most Speciall and Observable

PASSAGES,

From *Yorke*, *Hull*, *Weymouth*, *Exeter*, *Oxford*, and other Parts of His MAJESTIES Dominions.

From Saturday June 15. *to Saturday* June 22. 1644.

I. *A more particular Relation of the taking of Weymouth, with* 80. *and odd pieces of Ordnance,* 200 *barrells of powder,* 2000 *armes, betwixt* 30. *and* 40 *sailes of ships, and his Excellencies sending to summon Warebam, Portland Castle, Taunton, and Bridgewater.*

II. *Eight hundred men come in to his Excellency from Sir* R. Hopton.

III. *The breaking off of the Treaty at Yorke, and other passages since.*

IV. *The L.* Konnoule *and Sir* Iames Hay's *coming from Oxf. to Lon.*

V. *The Triall of the Archbishop of Canterbury Thursday last, and of the commitment of Sergeant* Glanvile *to the Tower.*

THE Archbishops Triall, according to our former intention, will still require the first place in this weeks Intelligence. Thursday June 20. he was againe brought from the Tower to the Barre in the Lords House. The charge was that day managed against him by M. *Nicolls*, and M. *Maynard*. M. *Nicolls* first declared, That although the matters of charge against him would grow higher and higher, yet they would contract themselves as much as might be in those things which

ſhould be delivered to their Lordſhips. They went upon that part of the ſeventh Article, *That the Archbiſhop had declared and maintained in Speeches and printed Books divers Popiſh Doctrines and opinions contrary to the Articles of Religion eſtabliſhed.* And thereupon they doubted not but to prove, That the Archbiſhop was the Patron of all the Arminian, Popiſh, and Anti-Parliamentary Bookes that had beene publiſhed ſince he began to domineer, and that he did cauſe ſeverall paſſages in divers Books which made againſt Popery to be expunged.

The firſt inſtance then produced was the Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament preſented to the King in the year 1628. wherein (amongſt other things) *The Archbiſhop of Cant. is charged to be a chiefe friend of the Arminian Faction, and a favourer of their Books and Tenents, and a prohibitor of thoſe Books which wrote againſt them.* For proofe whereof, the ſaid Remonſtrance delivered June 17. 1628. (a copie whereof was found by M. *Pryn* in the Archbiſhops Study endorſed with the Archbiſhops owne hand) was produced, and part of it read: wherein the Houſe of Commons declared, *That with much ſorrow of heart they did behold the daily growth and ſpreading of the Faction of the Arminians, that being a common and cunning way to bring in all Poperie: And they being generally the Incendiaries of thoſe States wherein they have gotten head, reſembling Proteſtants in ſhew, but are Ieſuites in opinion and practice, which* (addreſſing themſelves to the King) *cauſed your Majeſties Royall Father to write ſo learnedly againſt them: yet notwithſtanding they are now much favoured and advanced, not wanting friends of the Clergie neere to your Majeſty, namely* D. Neale *Biſhop of Wincheſter,* D. Laud *Biſhop of Bath and Wells, by whoſe meanes many Popiſh and Arminian Bookes are printed and publiſhed, and on the other ſide ſuch Bookes as are written againſt them are called in and ſuppreſſed: and, which is a boldneſſe moſt incredible, all this is pretended to be done under the pretence of your Majeſties Proclamation,* &c.

Now to this Remonſtrance of the whole Houſe of Commons the Archbiſhop takes upon him in the Kings Name to make an Anſwer, the ſubſtance whereof was this.

The next feare is the daily growth of the Arminian faction, called A cunning way to bring in Poperie, which is a thing altogether unknown to us, neither muſt our people be taught by a Parliament Remonſtrance

monſtrance (that's the Archbiſhops fawtie expreſſion of the Parliament) *or any other way, that we ſhould neglect a matter of ſo great importance, and that Arminianiſme ſhould ſpread it ſelfe ſo farre and ſo faſt into this Kingdome, without our knowledge of it.*

In this charge alſo there is great wrong done to two eminent Prelats which are tender perſons (the Archbiſhop forgot not to Laud himſelfe) *which are accuſed without any juſt ground: and were they guilty of any innovation in religion, either by that open, or by that cunning way, We ſhould quickly take order with them, and not ſtay for your Remonſtrance.*

After which theſe words were written with his own hand.

My Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of the Parliament in the Duke of Buckinghams Caſe. This I did by the Kings command, who intended to publiſh it in print, but afterwards his mind altered to have it publiſhed, Who altered the Kings mind in this God knowes.

They went on to ſhew, that during the ſaid Parliament, the Archbiſhop and his Creatures penned a Declaration in the Kings name, which they intended to be printed before the 39. Articles, concerning the ſenſe of thoſe Articles, which occaſioned a Vote of the Houſe of Commons of the 28. of Jan. in which they did condemne that ſenſe which the Jeſuites did make of the Articles of our Religion.

To this Vote in Parliament the Archbiſhop gives a peremptorie Anſwer:

That the Parliament had no power to declare any thing concerning the 39. Articles: That this Vote in Parliament was abſurd, idle, quarrelling almoſt with every expreſſion in it, further queſtioning, what authority Lay-men had to meddle with thoſe things.

Then they declared the reaſon why the Archbiſhop was ſo zealous to maintaine the Jeſuites and their faction, becauſe the Jeſuites were the Arminians own Inſtruments, and their deſigne was, by their meanes to bring in Popery; for which the copie of a Letter ſent from a Jeſuite to a Rector of Bruſſels, found in the Archbiſhops Studie was read, wherein he expreſſes his great diſlike of *K. Iames* for writing ſo violently againſt them, and that he had interrupted his proceedings with his peſtilent wit, (for ſo it was expreſſed) and deep learning: but now they had planted the ſoveraigne drug Armiñianiſme, which he hoped would purge them ſufficiently. We have ſome of our own Religion (ſayes he) that ſtand up in a diſguiſed

And

way for the defence of Arminianiſme, and afterwards I cannot chuſe to laugh to ſee ſome of our owne profeſſion, you would ſcarce know them if you ſaw them, and it is a wonder to ſee how they can act the Puritan. This we ſecond and inforce by blocking up the Kings eares, (it is well knowne who had moſt recourſe for that) with probable arguments. 1. We take into conſideration the Kings honour, we ſhew how the King may free himſelf of his word, as *Lewis* the eleventh did, and may raiſe great ſummes of Money, without being beholding to his Subjects; and that is by way of Exciſe, to be raiſed by a Mercenary Army of Germane Horſe and other Foot Forces.

Vpon this, compared with the other proceedings of the Arch-Biſhop, they declared, how earneſt he was to follow the Jeſuits deſigne, by preferring *Mountague* (the firſt publique Aſſerter and Writer in defence of that error) to be Biſhop of Chicheſter, after he had been queſtioned in Parliament for his Booke called *An Appeal to Cæſar*, And admitted him into the ſaid Biſhoprick, as an affront to the true Religion, and to Biſhop *Carleton*, formerly Biſhop of the ſaid place, who wrote a Booke in anſwer to the ſaid *Mountagues*.

In the Next place Maſter *Nicolls* declared, that they could give many inſtances of the Arch-Biſhops perſecuting many men for oppoſing the ſaid *Arminian* Tenents, Maſter *Hill* and others in Oxford being forced to make their Recantation for having ſome inſtances in their Sermons againſt the *Arminian* errours, as alſo Maſter *Walker* and others in London, and cauſed Letters to be ſent in his Majeſties name to Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, to ſuppreſſe D. *Downhams* Booke, but for brevity ſake he would mention onely one paſſage under the Arch-Biſhops owne hand, which he found in his ſtudy in two papers, the one called *Conſiderations for the Church*, the other, *Inſtructions for the King*.

One of theſe Inſtructions was, That an eſpeciall care might be taken concerning Lecturers in every Dioceſſe, they being the peoples Oratours, and ready to blow the bellowes every way, as they pleaſed, and to that purpoſe. 1. That afternoon Sermons might be turned into catechiſing. 2. That every Lecturer read Divine Service in his Surplice before the Lecture. 3. That Emanuell and Sidney Colledge in Cambridge, which were the Nurſes of Puritaniſme, might be furniſhed with grave and ſollid men for the heads of them.

That the Judges may not ſend ſo many Prohibitions.

After

After he had made a draught of theſe and other Inſtructions, with his owne hand, then he procures the Kings to ſubſcribe to them, and ſends them to the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, to be put in execution throughout the Kingdome.

The next thing that was inſiſted upon, was concerning his expunging out of Books, any thing that was againſt Popery or Arminianiſme, and licenſing thoſe that ſpoke in defence of them: As firſt, when he was Biſhop of Bath and Wells, there was one D. *Sibthorpe* preached a Sermon at the Aſſizes at Northampton, which being tendred to Arch-Biſhop *Abbot* to be printed, he oppoſed it, ſaying, it pleaded againſt the Subjects Liberty in many particulars, and drew up divers exceptions againſt it, of which when his little grace had knowledge, he made anſwer to them, and procured a ſpeciall command from the King, for the printing of this Sermon, and afterwards added himſelf divers paſſages into that Sermon, which were never delivered by the Doctor, and expunged divers paſſages againſt Popery, the evill Councellors of Kings, and the Breach of the Sabbath. Here Mr. *Maynard* deſired their Lordſhips to obſerve this, for that they forced him, afterwards going behind the cuſtome in ſome things, but in theſe where the deſigne was laid, they found his owne hand, and his pen: One intention of that Sermon, was to declare his opinion in juſtification of the power of the King in impoſing of Taxes and Loanes without the Subjects conſent in Parliament, and that it was agreeable, (as he ſaid) to Law and Conſcience, one of the expreſſions the Arch-Biſhop deleted (thinking it to reflect too much upon himſelf) was this, *He that under pretence of honour to the King, diſturbes the State, is to undergoe what he intended to others, as Haman and his complices in their plot againſt the Iewes.* The next was, his alteration of the prayer for the 5. of November, which had continued without alteration from the beginning of King *Iames* his Raigne, till the yeare An. 1635. Wherein inſtead of this paſſage, *Roote out that Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect which ſay of Ieruſalem &c.* And afterwards where it is expreſſed thus concerning the Papiſts, whoſe Religion is Rebellion, whoſe Faith is Faction, whoſe practice is murthering of ſouls and bodies, he turned it thus, *Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity, who turne Religion into Rebellion, Faith into Faction*: This turning does plainly imply, that he thought the Religion of the Papiſts was the true Religion, and

And

no Rebellion, and their Faith the true Faith, and no Faction: I shall for Brevity sake omit all his many alterations in the Fast Book.

The next was concerning two Books written by Sir *Anthony Hungerford* against Poperie, which being brought to D. *Heywood* the Archbishops Chaplain to licence, as was then declared by Sir *Edward Hungerford*, and the Chaplain having perused them said, it was very fit they should be printed, but there were some harsh phrases which should be left out: one of which was this, concerning the Pope, *That he was so farre a stranger from the Church, that he could be no other but the Man of sin*, adding, that some were of opinion that the Pope was not Antichrist, and the Archbishop being repaired unto hereupon, (the said alterations being many) he would returne no other answer but this, *That he had referred all these things to his Chaplain.* He also refused to consent to the reprinting of D. *Potters* Booke called *Charity mistaken*, alledging, *That he did ascribe too much power to the Parliament in Church-affaires.*

After this M. *Nicolls* began to insist upon the many alterations in the Scotch Common Prayer Book, which was no sooner mentioned but the Archbishop stood up and pleaded, *That he was included in the Act of oblivion agreed upon at the pacification between England and Scotland, and that therefore the matter was not to be mentioned in judgement:* as also for that the imposing the Service-Book upon that Kingdome was reported to be the ground and cause of these warres.

To this it was again pleaded, *That they did not charge any thing out of that Booke upon him as it was an act of hostility, but to shew his affection to Popery, notwithstanding in regard it was a matter of so much concernment, as the exposition of an Act of Parliament*, it was assented unto, that his Counsell might answer for him in it, who were accordingly appointed to provide themselves of an answer in it when it should next be questioned.

Then they proceeded to the taking of M. *Whites* testimony concerning Doctor *Clark* (one of the Translators of the Bible) his learned Sermons, which would not be licensed by M. *Harsnet* the Archbishops Chaplain, unlesse what ever almost was against Popery might be struck out and altered, quite against the sense of the author: yea the word *Papist* would not be suffered to stand, but the word *Roman* was set in the stead of it.

For other intelligence, I shall begin with the advance of the valiant

ant and experienced Commander Major Generall *Browne*, who on Thurſday night laſt June 21. went out of London with three Regiments of *Auxiliaries*, namely the red under the Command of Colonell *Harſnet*, the blew under the Command of Colonell *Pindar*, and the white under Colonell *Shepheard*: the white and blew lay that night at Kſnights-bridge, and the red at Hammerſmith, and are thence ſpeedily to be drawn forth to joyn with the Forces raiſed in the Counties of Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham.

On Thurſday June 20. Sergeant *Glanvile* who came the day before from Oxford, was brought to the Barre of the Houſe of Commons, and by Order of that Houſe committed to the Tower.

Friday June 21. there came a Letter from the Lord Generall dated at Weymouth, June 20. which was read in the Lords Houſe, wherein his Excellency informed them of his taking of Weymouth upon ſurrender, the Commanders and Officers going away on horſe-back, with their ſwords and piſtols, and the common ſouldiers onely with ſtaves in their hands. He took in the town 27. pieces of Ordnance, and 50. other pieces in the harbour and ſhips neer it, above 100. barrells of powder, beſides much armes and ammunition. He further writes, that the Countrey do daily come in to him in great numbers, ſo that his army is like to be much augmented in thoſe parts.

We had then alſo further intelligence from the Weſt, that Sir *John Stowell* had quitted Taunton in Somerſet-ſhire, and was gone with his Forces into Exeter.

Greenland houſe is now cloſely blocked up by the Windſore Forces and others out of the parts adjacent.

Out of Derbyſhire it is informed, that Sir *John Gell* is marched thence toward Leiceſterſhire to joine with the Lord *Grayes* Forces, and ſo to beſiege Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, the Mannor of Colonell *Haſtings*, that knowne Rob Carrier of thoſe parts.

Both Houſes of Parliament have ordered, that for the better and more effectuall relief of ſick and maimed Souldiers, and of thoſe Women whoſe Husbands are ſlaine in this Service of the Parliament, there ſhall be 2000 l. allowed weekly out of the new Exciſe.

The laſt intelligence that we can yet receive from York is this, that the ſiege doth ſtill continue very cloſe, that there have been divers Treaties from the Marqueſſe for a ſurrender, but both ſides could not come to compoſition: about the 11. inſtant a ſouldier that ran out of the

the City to the Scots Army, confeſſeth, that there was lately a gre
mutiny in the City, among the Souldiers, which was with much ad
appeaſed, which was firſt raiſed upon a rumour among them, th
ſome of their Commanders hud an intention to deſert them.

Sunday laſt His Majeſty went from Worceſter with 2000. hor
to Eaſham, and ſo to Burford, in his way he broke up all the bridg
that Sir *W. Waller* could not purſue him with that expedition he deſi
red. Sir *William* is at Packſhaw, and his Majeſty (as is conceived)
gone towards Briſtoll.

On Fryday June 21. inſtant it was more particularly advertiſed
by a ſpeciall Meſſenger that came on Munday laſt from Hull, and came
to Towne that day, that the Saturday before about foure of the
Clock in the afternoon, the Treaty between General *Leſley* the Lord
Faixfax, the E. of *Mancheſter*, and the M. of *Newcaſtle*, was bro
ken off, but that the Ceſſation held till ſeven a Clock that night, at
which time both parties diſcharged their Ordinance at each other,
and ſo continued ſhooting till the next day, but what was the iſſue
he did not know. The Articles agreed upon by the Engliſh and Scots
forces, were, That the Enemy ſhould leave the City, with all the
Ordnance, Armes and Ammunition to them, that the Commanders
ſhould be permitted to go with their Horſes and Swords, but not
Piſtolls, and the Common Souldiers to carry onely a Moneths Pay
and ſo to paſſe to their owne homes.

The ſame day it was further advertiſed out of the Weſt, that his
Excellency had ſent ſeverall parties to ſummon Wareham, Bridge-
water, Portland Caſtle, and other towns in thoſe parts, that 8000.
men were gathered together in Somerſetſhire to joine with his Ex-
cellency, Sir *R. Hopton* having lately preſt 2000. men there to re-
the French which he pretended were landing, but they finding it o
therwiſe, moſt of them deſerted him and came in to his Excellency,
whereupon Sir *R. Hopton* calling a Councell of warre, it was reſol-
ved they ſhould preſſe no more, it cauſing them the ſooner to deſert
him. The Queene is generally reported to be gone from Exeter to
Pendennis Caſtle. This week the Lord *Cornwall* and Sir *Edmund Ha*
deſerted the Oxford and came to London.

By a Scout out of the VVeſt, it is this Friday further informed
that ſince the former prize at VVeymouth, there were taken about
2000. armes more, and betwixt 30. and 40. ſhips by the Lo. Admirall.

Printed according to Order, for T. Bates *and* J. W. J.

6

SAMPSONS FOXES
Agreed to fire a Kingdom:

OR,

The JESUIT, and the PURITAN, met in a ROUND, to put a Kingdom out of SQUARE.

SEE, two rude waves, by ſtorms, together thrown,
Roare at each other, fight, and then grow one.
Religion is a circle, men contend,
And run the round, diſputing without end:
Now in a circle who go contrary,
Muſt at the laſt meet of neceſſity.
The Roman, to maintain the Cath'like Cauſe,
Allowes a lie, and calls it *pia fraus*:
The Puritan approves, and does the ſame,
Diſlikes naught in it, but the Latine name:
He ſlowes in theſe devices, and dares lie
In very Deed, in Truth, in Veritie:
He whines, and ſighs out lies with ſo much ruth,
As if he grieved he could nere ſpeak truth.
Lies have poſſeſt the Preſſe, as 'twere their due,
'Twill ſcarce hencefore (I fear) print Bibles true.
Lies for the next ſtrong Fort, the Pulpit choſe,
They throng out of their Preachers mouth and noſe:
And how-ere groſſe, are certain to beguile
The poore book-turners of the middle Iſle.
Nay, to th'Almighties Self they have been bold
To lie, and their blaſphemous Teacher told
They might ſay falſe to God: for if they were
Beaten, he knew't not, for he was not there.
But God, who their great gratitude did ſee,
Rewards them with another victorie.

Junt 22 at Oxon A 1644.

And

And ſuch another at Brainford, ſans doubt,
VVill wearie er't be long their gratitude out.
Not all the Legends of the Saints of old,
Nor vaſt *Baronius*, nor ſlie *Surius* told,
Such plentie of apparant lies, as are
In your own Author *Ioh. Browne Cler. Par.*
Beſides what your ſmall Poets ſaid or writ,
Brookes, *Strode*, or the Baron of the ſaw-pit,
VVith manie a mentall reſervation:
You'l maintain Libertie, reſerv'd your own:
For the publike good the ſummes rais'd you'l disburſe,
Reſerv'd the greateſt part for your own purſe.
You'l root the Cavaliers out everie man,
Pray let it be reſerv'd here if you can.
You'l make our gracious CHARLES a glorious King
Reſerv'd in heaven, for thither you would bring
His roiall head, the onelie ſecure roome
For our glorious King, where youl nere come.
To keep the ſtate of ſubjects you pretend,
Reſerved in your trunks. Oh you'l defend
The Church of England, this your proteſtation,
But tis New-England by your reſervation.
Power of diſpenſing oaths the Papiſts claime,
Caſe hath got leave of God to do the ſame.
For you do hate all ſwearing, ſo that when
Y'have ſworne a lawfull oath, you breakt agen.
A curſe upon you, which hurts moſt theſe Nations,
Cavaliers ſwearing, or your proteſtations.
Nay though oaths be by you ſo much abhord,
You allow God damme in your Puritan Lord.
They keep the Bible from Lay men, but ye
Avoid it, for youl have no Laitie.
They in a forraigne and unknown tongue pray,
You in an unknown ſenſe your praiers do ſay.
So that this difference twixt you doth inſue,
Fooles underſtand not them, nor wiſe men you.
They an unprofitable zeale have got,
Of invocating Saints, which heare them not.
Twere well you did ſo: nought may be more feard
In your fond praiers, then that they ſhould be heard.

For

So then your non-ſenſe well enough might paſſe,
They'd nere ſee that i'th divine lookeing-glaſſe:
Nay whether you'l worſhip Saints, is not yet konwne,
For you have yet of your Religion none.
They by good workes thinke to be juſtified.
You into the ſame error deeper ſlide:
You thinke by works too juſtified to bee,
And thoſe ill workes, lies, Treaſon, perjurie.
But oh! your faith is mighty, that hath beene
(As true faith ought to be) of things unſeene,
At Worceſter, Brainford, and Edge-hill, we ſee,
Onelie by faith y'have gotten victorie:
Such is your faith and ſome ſuch unſeen way
The publike faith at laſt your debts will pay.
They hold free-will that nought their ſoules may binde,
As the great prviledges of all mankind:
You'r here more moderate, for tis your intent
To make't a priviledge of Parliament.
They forbid Prieſts to marrie, you worſe doe,
Their marriage you allow, yet puniſh too.
For you'd make Prieſts ſoe poore, that upon all
That marrie, ſcorne, and beggerie muſt fall.
They a bold power ore ſacred Scriptures take.
Blot out ſome clauſes, and ſome new ones make:
Your great Lord Ieſuite *Brookes* publiklie ſaid,
Brookes, whom too little learning had made madd;
That to correct the Creede, you ſhould doe well,
And blot out Chriſts deſcending into hell:
Repent vile man, or you'l nere change I feare
The ſentence of your own deſcending there.
Yet modeſtlie they uſe the Creed; for they
VVould take the Lords praier root and branch away:
And wiſelie ſaid a Levite of our Nation,
The Lords praier was a Popiſh Ionovation:
Take heed you'l ſhortlie grant it ſhould be ſaid,
If't be but to deſire your dailie bread.
They keepe the people ignorant, and you
Keep both the people, and your ſelves ſo too;
Nay ſuch bold lies to God himſelfe you vaunt,
As if you'd faine keepe him too ignorant.

They blind obedience, and blind duty teach,
You blind rebellion, and blind treaſon preach:
Nor can I blame you much, that you advance
That which can onely ſave you (ignorance,)
Though, heav'n be prais'd, 'thas oft been proved wel,
Your ignorance is not invincible.
Nor was't your wit this holy project bore,
Twede and the Tine have ſeen ſuch tricks before.
They of ſtrange miracles and wonders tell,
You are your ſelves a kind of miracle.
Ev'n ſuch a miracle, as in Writ divine
We read o'th Devils turning down the Swine.
They made Images to ſpeak, and 'tis ſaid,
You a dull Image have your Speaker made,
And that your bounty in offrings may abound,
Y'have to that Idoll giv'n ſix thouſand pound.
They drive out Devils, they ſay: here ye begin
To differ, I confeſſe, ye let them in.
They maintaine tranſubſtantiation,
You by a contrary Philoſophers Stone
To tranſubſtantiate metalls have the skill,
And turne the Kingdomes gold to iron and ſteel.
I'th Sacrament y'agree not, but 'tis noted,
Bread muſt be fleſh, wine bloud, if ere't be voted.
They make the Pope their Head, y'exalt for him
Primate and Metropolitan M. *Pym*,
Nay *White*, who ſits i'th infallible chaire,
And moſt infallibly ſpeaks non-ſenſe there:
Nay *Cromwell*, *Parry*, *Wheeler*, Sir *John Wray*,
He who does ſay, and ſay, and ſay, and ſay:
Nay *Lowrie*, who doth new Church-government wiſh,
And propheſies like *Ionas*, midſt the Fiſh,
Who can ſuch various buſineſſe wiſely ſway,
And handle Herrings, and Biſhops in one day,
Nay all your Preachers, women, boyes, and men,
From Mr. *Calamie* to Miſtreſſe *Ven*,
Are perfect Popes in their owne Pariſh growne,
For to out-doe the ſtorie of Pope *Ioane*:
You women Preachers too are like to be
The whores of Babylon as well as ſhe.

They

They depoſe Kings by force, by force you do't,
But firſt uſe faire meanes to perſwade him to't.
They dare kill Kings, now 'twixt you heres the ſtrife,
You dare ſhoot at the King, to ſave his life:
And what's the difference pray, whether they fall
By the Popes Bull, or your Oxe Generall.
Three Kingdoms you have ſtriv'd to make your own
And, like the Pope, uſurp a triple Crown:
Such is your faith, ſuch your religion.
Let's view your manners now, and then I have done.
Your covetouſneſſe let gaſping Ireland tell,
Where firſt the Iriſh lands, and then you ſell
The Engliſh bloud, and raiſe rebellion here
With that which ſhould ſuppreſſe and quench it there.
What mighty ſummes have you ſquees'd out o'th Citie,
Enough to make them poore, and ſomthing wittie.
Exciſe, loanes, contributions, pole-moneys,
Are words which you'l nere learn in holy Writ,
Till the Spirit and the Synod have mended it.
They ſimply fornication think no crime,
Nor you in holie place, and holie time:
But wiſelie to Gods glorie ſanctifie
Your fornication and adulterie.
Zeale and the Spirit ſo work upon you then,
All at your meetings are begot new men.
Limbus and Purgatorie they believe,
For leſſer ſinners, that is, I conceive,
Malignants onelie, you this trick does pleaſe,
For the ſame cauſe y'have made new *Limbus's*,
Where we may lie impriſon'd long, ere we
A day of judgment in your Court ſhall ſee.
But *Pym* can, like the Pope, with this diſpenſe,
And for a bribe deliver ſoules from thence.
Their Councels claime infallibilitie,
Such muſt your Conventicle Synod be,
And teachers from all parts o'th earth you call,
To make a Councell Oecumenicall.
They ſev'rall times appoint from meats t'abſtaine,
You for the Iriſh warres a Faſt ordaine:

And

And that that Kingdome may be ſure to faſt,
You take a courſe to ſtarve them at the laſt.
No, though you keep no Fridayes Eves, nor Lent,
Nor to dreſſe meat on Sundayes y'are content,
Then ye repeat, repeat, and pray, and pray,
Your teeth keep Sabbath, your tongues working day.
They preſerve Reliques, you have few or none,
Vnleſſe the Clout ſent to *John Pym* be one:
And *Hollis* his rich widdow, ſhe that carried
A Relique in her wombe before ſhe married.
They in ſucceeding *Peter* take a pride,
So do you, for your Maſter y'have deni'd:
But chiefly *Peters* priviledge you chooſe,
At your own wils to binde, and to unlooſe.
He was a Fiſher; ſo may you be too,
When nothing but your ſhips are left to you.
He went to Rome, to Rome you backward ride,
Though both your goings are by ſome deni'd:
Nor is't a contradiction to ſay,
You go to Rome the quite contrarie way.
He di'd o'th Croſſe, that death's unuſuall now,
The Gallowes is moſt lik'd, and that for you.
They love Church-muſick, it offends your ſenſe,
And therefore you have ſung it out from hence:
Which ſhewes, if right your mind were underſtood,
You hate it not as muſick, but as good.
Your madneſſe makes you ſing, as much, as they
Dance, who are bit with a Tarantula.
But do not to your ſelves alas appeare
The moſt religious traitors that ere were,
Becauſe your troopers ſinging Pſalmes do go;
There's manie a traitor has marcht Holborne ſo.
Where's all the twenti'th part now, which hath beene
Paid you by ſome to forfeit the nineteene?
Where's all the goods diſtrain'd, and plunder paſt?
You are grown wretched pilferers at laſt.
Deſcend to braſſe and pewter, till of late,
Like *Midas*, all you touch muſt needs be plate.
By what vaſt hopes is your ambition fed?
'Tis writ in bloud, and may be plainly read.

You

You muſt have places, and the Kingdomes ſway,
The King muſt be a Ward to your Lord *Say*.
Your innocent Speaker to the Roles muſt riſe,
Six thouſand pound hath made him proud and wiſe.
Kimbolton for his Fathers place doth call,
VVould be like him, would he were, face and all.
Iſaac would alwaies be Lord Major, and ſo
May alwaies be Lord Major as much as now.
One Groome of the cloſe ſtoole again would be,
Rather then ſtill Groom to th' cloſe Committee.
Another for his ſtaffe againe doth itch,
Faith let him ha't, ſo ſome body have a ſwitch.
For the five Members, they do richlie thrive,
They'l alwaies but continue Members five:
Onelie *Pym* doth his naturall right enforce:
By'th mothers ſide he's Maſter of the horſe.
Moſt ſhall have places by theſe popular tricks,
The reſt muſt be content with Biſhopricks.
For 'tis 'gainſt ſuperſtition, your intent,
Firſt to vote out the great Church-ornament,
Monie and lands: your ſwords (alas) are drawn
Againſt the Biſhops, not their Caps, or Lawne.
O let not ſuch lewd ſacriledge begin
Tempted by *Henries* rich ſucceſſefull ſin:
Henry the monſter-King of all that age,
VVilde in his luſt, and wilder in his rage.
Expect not you his fate, though *Hotham* thrives,
In imitating *Henries* trick for wives;
Nor fewer Churches hope then wives to ſee
Buried, and then their lands his own to be.
You boundleſſe tirants, how do you out-trie
Th'Athenian thirtie, Romes *Decemviri*!
In rage, injuſtice, crueltie, as farre
Above thoſe men, as you in number are.
VVhat miſteries of iniquitie do we ſee,
New priſons made to maintain libertie,
VVhere without cauſe ſome are undone, ſome die
Like men bewitcht, they know not how, nor why.
Our goods forc't from us for proprietie ſake,
And all the reall non-ſenſe which ye make.

Ship-

Ship-money was unjuſtly tak'n, ye ſay,
Vnjuſtlier farre to take the Ships away:
The High Commiſſion too much tyranny
Did act, good God! what does the high Committee?
Preferments then for guifts and bribes were bought,
By mony, and bloud too, they now are ſought.
To the Kings will the Laws men ſtrove to draw;
The ſubjects will is now become a law.
'Twas feard a new Religion would begin,
All new Religions now are entred in:
The King Delinquents to protect did ſtrive,
What Clubs, Pikes, Halberts, Lighters ſav'd the Five?
You thinke the Parliament, like the ſtate of grace,
What ever ſins men doe, they keepe their place.
Invaſions then were fear'd againſt the State,
And *Strode* ſwore next yeare would bee Eighty Eight:
You call in forraigne aids to your deſignes,
Firſt thoſe great forraigne forces of Divines,
With which Ships from America were fraught;
Rather may fowle tobacco ſtill be brought
From thence, (ſay I:) now you the Scots invite,
Which you terme brotherly aſſiſtance, right:
For with them you intend England to ſhare,
They who alas but younger brothers are
Muſt have the monys for their portion,
The houſes and the lands will be your owne.
We thanke you for the wounds which wee indure,
VVhileſt ſcratches and ſmall pricks you ſeeke to cure:
VVe thanke you for true reall feares, at laſt,
VVhich free us from ſo many falſe ones paſt:
VVe thank you for the bloud which fats our Coaſt,
That fatall debt paid to great Straffords Ghoſt:
VVe thanke you for the ills receiv'd, and all,
VVhich by your dilligence in good time we ſhall:
VVe thanke you, and our gratitude's as great
As yours, when you thanke God for being beat.

FINIS.

OXFORD,
Printed by H. H. 1644.

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

The 23 Weeke, ending Iune 8. 1644.

SUNDAY. *Iune* 2.

THis day began ill, but it ended well, For the firſt newes of the morning was, that *Waller* had the day before attempted once againe to obtaine the paſſage at *New-bridge*, which was maintained againſt him by 90 Muſquetiers as long as their powder and ſhot laſted, but that beginning to be ſpent towards the evening, before the new ſupply which was ſent came to them, the Rebels had got over the water in Boats, at a little diſtance from the Bridge and falling ſuddenly upon them, killed and tooke priſoners of them 30 or thereabouts. But this ill Newes was recompenced with the good ſucceſſe which his Majeſties forces had the laſt night at *Goſworth* Bridge; where they killed an hundred of the Rebels, as before I told you, it being credibly reported that the Rebels had carried away three Cart loades of their dead men, beſides thoſe whom they left in the ditches, whom they had not the courage to fetch off. And to make up the number of thoſe men which were loſt and taken by Sir *William* yeſterday, there came this day unto his Majeſties Army, 40

Dutch Troppers more who had ſerved the Enemy.

But 'tis the evening crowns the day, and the evening brought good newes indeed. You heard on *Tueſday*, *May* 21. That Prince RUPERT was upon his match towards *Lancaſhire*, in the way to *Latham*, with an intent to reſcue that moſt gallant Lady. And there came after a report, that the heavens fought for her, and that the infinite deale of raine which had lately fallen, had made the Rebels leave the Siege. But whileſt mens minds were full of doubtfull expectation what they were to hope for, newes came this evening from one Maſter *Chicheley*, (a Gent. of name and credit) of the remarkable ſucceſſes which God had given the Prince his Highneſſe in that expedition, which was this in ſubſtance. Upon the 25 of *May*, his Highneſſe marched towards *Stopworth*, a Towne of *Cheſhire* but ſeated on the banke of the River *Merſey*, which divideth that County from *Lancaſhire*) in which the Rebels had a very ſtrong Garriſon: who hearing of his approach drew out with a body of 3000. horſe and foot, and faced his horſe. But when his foot came up (which was about 6 of the clock in the Evening) the cunning Rebels withdrew themſelves, and lined the hedges, through which he was to paſſe, with their *Musqueiers*. Which being perceived by the Prince, he commanded Colonell *Washington* with ſome *Dragoners* to ſcoure thoſe hedges; and he performed the ſervice with ſuch ſpeed and courage, that the Rebels in a great affright fled towards the Towne; whom the Prince followed ſo cloſe upon the heeles, that he entred pel mel with them, and ſo took the Towne, together with all their Cannon, moſt of their Armes and Ammunition, and about 800. of them Priſoners.

This notable piece of ſervice being thus performed, his Highneſſe ſent ſome forces to relieve the heroicke Counteſſe of *Derby* who moſt courageouſly had held out a ſiege of 18 weekes againſt the Rebells: of whoſe approach and of their notable ſucceſſe at *Stopworth*, the weather-beaten *Rebells* had no ſooner heard, but they raiſed their ſiege, and went away with Bagge and Baggage. And now what will *Britanicus* ſay to another ſallie out of Latham-*Houſe? oh for one ſallie more from the counteſſe of* Derby! (I hope Sir you remember your owne

pleaſant

pleaſant ſcoffes.) Aſſuredly the Fellow ſhall not loſe his longing for feare he ſhould miſcary in his next weekes birth: and therefore I will tell him of *one ſally more* the laſt I truſt that ever will be *made of* Latham *Houſe*. For the valiant Souldiers of the Garriſon thinking they might be juſtly taxed for want of manners, if they ſhould let the Rebells goe and not bid them farewell, *ſallied* once more upon them, fell upon their Reare, ſlew about 40 of them, and tooke divers Priſoners: enough I hope to ſtay the ſtomack of *Britannens* for this preſent time. And this being done, the Earle of *Derby* during whoſe abſence from the place they began the ſege, returned againe into his houſe with great ſtore of proviſions, to the great comfort of his Lady, and their friends and neighbours, ſo long oppreſſed and tyrannized over by thoſe inſolent Rebells.

There had beene a report laſt weeke that the Lord *Loughborough* and Colonell *Goring* with their united forces had faced *Leiceſter*; and finding that they could not draw the *Rebells* to come out and fight, had ſeized on the horſes, and drave thence the Cattell of the ſeditious and maligrant people which live thereabouts. And there came after a report by the way of *London*, of a great blow which had beene given by the ſaid forces to the Earle of *Manckeſter*. But as 'twas certified this day, (though the firſt proved true) the laſt was only of a blow which had beene given him by the Citizens in his reputation; by whom he ſtood accuſed even in commentaile, as if he had not done his part in defence of *Leiceſterſhire*. And ſo much is acknowledged by the *Parliament Scout*, who doth not onely value the bootie which His Majeſties Forces got about *Leiceſter*, at 40000 *li.* no leſſe; but puts himſelfe into the trouble of a large Apologie for the Earle of *Manckeſter*, whoſe *penſioner* he ſeemes to be, and to him I leave him.

MONDAY. *June* 3.

Yeſterday in the afternoone His Majeſtie went to *Woodſtock*, where his Horſe was quartered, to ſee if all things were in readineſſe for the diſpatch of the deſigne which was then in hand: and having ſupped, and hunted in His Parke there, returned to His Foot-Army which were quartered at and about

Wolvercote, amongſt whom He lay in His Coach all night; and the next morning gave command for His Forces on the *Charwell* to come up to his Army, and all together to march cloſe to the walls of *Oxford*, there to attend His further Pleaſure, and about ſix of the clocke this morning came backe to *Chriſt-Church*.

The paſſages on the *Charwell* were no ſooner cleared, but preſently the beaten *Rebels* began to vapour, as if His Majeſties Forces durſt not ſtand their ground; of which and of their proſperous ſucceſſes ſince they came to *Iſlip*, they make great brags in many of their Letters to their friends in *London*: ſome of them writing with what gallantry they had gained the paſſes; ſome, that with no more then 2000 men they would have kept the paſſes againſt ten thouſand; others affirming *in good ſooth*, that they had tooke no leſſe then an hundred Priſoners, who were very glad of ſuch impriſonment; that divers Lords and brave Gentlemen (the Lord *Chandos* for one) and the Captaine Lieutenant of the Kings owne Troope, were come over to them; and finally, that divers of His Majeſties Souldiers were ſo deſirous of their company, that they ſwome over the water (which argued a hot zeale indeed) to come unto them: and all as true as that they have taken *Oxford*, and apprehended the King, which for a while was credibly reported in the ſtreets of *London*.

Their victory being ſo great, their ſucceſſe ſo glorious, it cannot be but that they muſt pay ſomewhat for it; but what it was, they have not yet agreed upon amongſt themſelves: ſome of them writing that they loſt but 10 or 12 men, and 30 wounded; others, that they have loſt 20 men and 50 wounded; and ſome againe confeſſing that they loſt foureſcore; and amongſt them, that Colonell *Cunninghams* arme was ſhot off, his Excellencies *Major* wounded, and Captaine *Pawlet* ſhot in the leg. Which numbers being put together would not make halfe the number of thoſe whom they loſt in the fights, it being confidently averred by ſome who came from them, that they loſt above 500 men ſince the fights began. But of this you ſhall heare more anon.

In

In the meane time let us returne unto his Maiesty, who having put all things in order for his departure (for He knew His person was the *game* which was most principally aimed at by those *mighty hunters*) commanded a great body of Foot to march towards *Abington*, the better to amuse the *Rebels*, and make them looke after him the wrong way: and the same night about nine of the clock, His MAIESTIE accompanied with Prince CHARLES, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, besides the Gentlemen of his Troope, and His meniall Servants, went out of *Oxford*, and came the next morning to *Northlye*, where he drew up his Army, consisting as the *Rebels* certified to their friends in *London*, of 3000. Foot, 4000. Horse, 12. Drakes, and about 60 or 70. Carriages. But whether they hit right or not, most sure it is, that His Maiestie left a *Partie* of His Foot, a new raised Regiment of Horse, under the command of the Earle of *Peterburgh*, and all His great Ordnance at *Oxford* (besides the Garrison and Ordnance of the place) for defence thereof: leaving behinde the Duke of YORK, and almost all the Lords of the Privie Councell, and giving order for the Prayers and Sermons to be kept up constantly both on Sundayes and Tuesdayes, as if himselfe were present in His Royall Person.

THURSDAY. *Iune* 4.

This morning newes was brought the *Rebels* under command of the Earle of *Essex*, that His Maiestie was *gone beyond them*; at which his Excellencie gave command to all his Forces to march presently after, towards *Woodstock*: which so discouraged many of his *Auxiliaries*, which longed for nothing more then to see the smoke of their owne Chimneys, that they stole away, and went in great bodies back againe towards *London*, whereof you shall heare more a day or two hence. The rest according unto Order passed over *Einsham* bridge in the way to *Woodstock*; and being in their march (as some of them writ unto their friends) *they faced* Oxford *againe*, that is to say, they turned their *faces* towards *Oxford*, being six miles off; or as another of them more ingeniously, that in their march towards *Woodstock* they drew up in *Batal-*

lia upon a great plain, *from whence they had againe a full ſight of Oxford.* Another writes, that their Army *had now marched round about* Oxford, and probably there might be ſome deſigne in that, For who can tell but they might beſcole themſelves into this beliefe, (ſuch perfect *Iſraelites* as they are) that by *compaſſing the City with their Rammes-hornes*, the walls thereof might poſſibly fall downe before them, as they did at *Hiericho.*

But howſoever they might pleaſe themſelves with the ſight of *Oxford*, it ſeems God was not pleaſed with them, nor their purſuit of his *Anointed.* For whileſt they were upon that Plaine, there fell ſo terrible a ſtorme of thunder, lightning, haile, and raine amongſt them, as quite broke off the joy of their preſent enterprize. Concerning which one writes to his friend at *London*, that it *fell a thundring and lightning as if Heaven and Earth would have met together; being ſeconded with ſuch extremity of haile and raine, that many tooke occaſion to ſay the* Conjurers *in* Oxford *had ingaged all their Familiars to worke them a deſpight:* Another, one *Geo. Wilkoughby* (who by his hand and name ſeemes to be a Gentleman) confeſſeth in a Letter to the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (his Lordſhip might do well to make good uſe of it.) that *when they drew up neere to* Woodſtock, *they ſuffered the anger of Heaven by a moſt violent ſtorme, which laſted for the ſpace of two houres, there being ſome* haile *which fell upon them as big as Nutmegs.* And though I will not ſay as theſe Letters doe, that God and the Devill did agree together to puniſh this *Rebellious* Armie, yet certainly it could be no other then the *finger of Heaven*, as the laſt Letter calls it, that ſuch a prodigious plague of *haile, and fire mingled with the haile*, ſhould fall upon thoſe lewd *Egyptians*; and no ſuch ſtorme be ſeene at *Oxford*, or any of the Villages adjoyning, for ought I can heare. And yet to make their miſeries and loſſe the greater, ſome of their Letters tell us (and we dare take their word in that) that in the morning as they marched towards *Woodſtock*, ſome of their Troopers were tooke Priſoners by a partee of His Majeſties Horſe, which attended on them in their march.

His Maieſtie having eaten and refreſhed himſelfe this morning,

ning, at Maſter *Parrets* houſe in *Northlye*, where he drew up His Army, went forwards in the afternoone to *Bourton on the Water*, a Village betweene *Burford* and *Stow on the Wold*; where *He* and the *Prince* lodged at Doctor *Temples*, one of the Chaplaines of the Princes Highneſſe, who is Parſon there. And the ſame night Sir *William Waller* being forced to fetch a compaſſe about by *Radcot-Bridge*, for the better paſſage of his Carriages and great Artillerie, met with the reſt of his Army at *Witney*, and quartered there.

WEDNESDAY *June.* 5.

This morning *Waller* marched from *Witney* to *Burford* in purſuit of His Majeſty, but he came a day or two too late. For as we are told by ſome of the intercepted letters which came from *Eſſex's* Army, His MAJESTIE, Prince CHARLES, &c. with a Convoy of 500 Horſe went this day to *Worceſter*, (whereof we ſhall heare more hereafter) leaving the maine body of his Army to come ſoftly after, who were this night to quarter at *Winchcomb*, a large campacious Town in the *Cotſwold* hills, neare to *Sudeley* Caſtle.

This day alſo the Rebels *Generaliſſimo* marched with his broken Army unto *Chipping-Norton*, where they lodged that night, and from thence diſpatched their letters to their friends at *London*; in which they ſing a different ſong from what they did before when they were at *Abingdon*: For whereas then they boaſted as before we told you that His Majeſties Forces fled before them *like duſt before the wind*, when they paſſed from *Abingdon* thorow *Oxford*, and that *their God had cauſed the ſpirit of feare to fall upon them that they durſt not ſtand*; now you ſhall heare them ſing a more doleſull dittie. One writes that the *Enemy* (for by that name they call the King, their dread Lord and Soveraigne) *was got ſo farre before them, that they were like to ſpend the Summer to as little purpoſe, as they had done the Winter.* Another, that *the running* Enemy *would make them ſpend the Summer in dancing, as they had done the Winter in lying ſtill*; A third, that *His Majeſtie did not meane to* fight, *but to tire them out with tedious marches*, (it ſeems they found themſelves deceived at laſt, though long

long firſt;) And a fourth letter tells us plainly, *That fighting would not ſo much waſte their Armies as thoſe tedious and hungry marches.* Which way of *conquering* was moſt chiefly aimed at by his Sacred Majeſty, when He commanded all His Forces to draw out of *Barkſhire*, whereof we told you the laſt Weeke. And it ſeemes their *Generaliſſimo* at laſt was of this opinion:

THURSDAY. *June.* 6.

For finding that His Majeſty (whoſe Perſon as before I told you, was the prey moſt aimed at) was got out of his reach; that His Majeſties Army being light, and troubled with no heavy Ordnance, was ſo farre before him that he had no hope to overtake it; and finally that his own men were extreamly leſſened both in courage and numbers; reſolved to give over the purſuit, and put that difficult piece of ſervice upon his *Re-vall*: and to that purpoſe ſent a diſpatch this morning to Sir *William Waller* to tarry for him at *Burford*, where he purpoſed to lodge this night; which he did accordingly. What was reſolved upon betwixt them you ſhall heare to morrow; for I intend to follow them in all their motions till they quit the Country, and ſhall then leave them to their ill fortunes.

In the meane time we may take notice that it was confidently affirmed by ſome who came this day from *London* to *Oxford*, that they met divers of the Earle of *Eſſex's* Souldiers in diſtracted companies, and ſometimes in great bodies all along the road, to the number of 2000, or thereabouts: and that the Souldiers being asked of the Country people as they paſſed thorough the Villages, if they had *taken the King*, made anſwer *No, they had never ſeene Him*, and being demanded whether they had taken *Oxford*, replyed, *No, they had never beſieged it*: and being thirdly asked *what they had done then*, made anſwer that *they had loſt* 500 *men about the taken of a Bridge and a Mill*, which was all the accompt they were able to give of the expedition: ſome of them adding withall, that had they not beene told at their going out, that *Oxford* ſhould be delivered to them on their firſt approach, and that the King would yield Himſelfe to their *Generaliſſimo*,

they

they had never ſtirred a foot from home. And there came alſo a report (which is very probable) that the infatuated Citizens were ſo confident of His Majeſties comming to their Citie, that they had provided a purſe of Gold to preſent Him with at His comming to them. Such excellent Arts have their good Maſters which remain at *Weſtminſter*, to worke this miſerable and beſotted people unto any faith, which they ſhall pleaſe to offer to them. But for a clearer evidence how zealous they are for the good of His Majeſtie, and reſolute to leave no practicable way unaſſayed to deſtroy *Him* indeed, whom under the juggling phraſe *For King and Parliament*, they would be beleeved to fight for and defend: This day we had very credible advertiſement, that all Priſoners at and about *London*, as well Felons, Murderers, and other criminall Offenders, as all indebted Perſons, who will take their *Covenant*, and fight under their Leaders *againſt the King*, ſhall be abſolutely freed from impriſonment. Wherin is obſervable a new extent of the *Members* Priviledges, and a rare patterne of Parliamentary proceeding for after times.

This day came alſo to our hands an *Ordinance* made in the name of the *Lords* and *Commons* aſſembled in *Parliament*, for the better *execution* of the former *Ordinances* for *Sequeſtration of Delinquents and Papiſts Eſtates*: In which there is not any thing conſiderable more then what was required in their former *Ordinances*, beſides a *New Oath* to be taken by the ſeverall *Sequeſtrators*, *Committees*, and other perſons imployed in the *Office*: but that whereas they wrought before upon the Country Gentlemen, by giving them authority as a *Sub-Committee*, to ſuſpend the ſequeſtrations of any *Papiſts* or *Delinquents* Eſtates, if they ſaw occaſion; now their affaires being ſetled, and their eſtate ſecured, they reſerve it all unto themſelves, allowing of no ſuch *ſuſpentions* but what are warranted by the expreſſe order of both Houſes of Parliament. So ordinary a thing it is for *Tyrants* to cut downe thoſe ſtaires by which they mounted to their height.

FRIDAY. *June 7.*

There had beene ſeverall reports laſt weeke concerning *Hull*,

ſome ſaying that the Inhabitants thereof taking opportunity of the Lord *Fairfax's* abſence, reſolved to ſtand upon their guard and admit him no more into the Towne; others that they reſolved onely not to admit of the *Scots*, to whom it was appointed for a *cautionary* Towne, or a place of retreat; and ſome that they had abſolutely declared themſelves for His Sacred Majeſtie, and taken in a Garriſon of His Majeſties Forces. Which laſt, as it prevailed at laſt, ſo was it confidently affirmed for certaine truth by ſome who came this day from *London*: partly upon the ordinarie talke of the Citizens, and the pulpit declamations of their Preachers, by whom it is believed and exclaimed againſt; partly upon the ſadneſſe and dejection which was obſerved to be amongſt wiſer men, at the firſt comming of the newes; and partly on the credit of the weekely Pamphlets (none of which are yet come to my hands) in which it is reported for a moſt ſad truth. But theſe particulars I onely repreſent to the Readers judgement, and determine nothing poſitively in the poynt. Time and a little patience will bring forth the truth.

And now to returne againe to the great Counſell at *Burford*, it was reſolved, as we were certified this day, by a Counſell of Warre made of both the Armies; that his Excellencie their *Generaliſſime*, having the greater Ordnance and the heavier carriages ſhould march downe faire and ſoftly into the Weſt, to reduce thoſe Countries once againe to the obedience of the Parliament; and that Sir *William* having the lighter bodies (moſt of his foot being very boyes), and the leſſer guns, ſhould joyne with Coll. *Maſſey's* forces, and purſue the King. And though Sir *William* had lived long in a perſwaſion of being *Generall of the Weſt*, and a very earneſt longing to be beaten out of it once more: yet their wiſe and expert *Generaliſſime*, knowing how contrarie it was to all the rules of *Knight Errantry*, for the ſame man to offer more then once at the ſame adventure, would not yeeld unto it; according to whoſe will and pleaſure it was thus reſolved. And though Sir *William* ſeemed diſcontented at it, yet ſome who pretend to be his friends doe rejoyce thereat: one of them writing

ting in his Letters, that Sir *William acts best at a distance* (so he doth indeed, when he is fartheſt off an enemy;) that *two Sunnes cannot ſhine at once* (but both may chance to be in an *Eclipſe* together:) and finally that he hath *ſeene two Spaniels coupled together, one drawing this way, the other that way*, (what pity 'tis that ſuch untoward *Spaniels* as he makes the Generalls, doe not hang one another in their owne *couples*.) But to proceed according to this reſolution the *Generaliſſimo* marched next day to *Faringdon*, and Sir *William* to his taske in *Glocesterſhire*; the one upon as faint an hope of ſubduing the *Weſt*, as the other finds an impoſſibility of doing their ends upon the King. And ſo having brought them both out of *Oxfordſhire*, I leave them as before I ſaid, to their owne ill deſtinies.

SATURDAY, *June* 8.

It was advertiſed this day, that a Partie of Horſe of the Garriſon of *Compton*-houſe in the County of *Warwicke* (belonging to the Earle of *Northampton*) had fallen upon the *Rebells* Army as they marched towards *Burford*, and brought in eight of the Troopers very well horſed: that a Partie of His Majeſties Horſe which lay neere *Oxon*, had alſo fallen upon a part of the Reare of *Waller's* Army, which was left at *Witney*, tooke thirteene of them priſoners yeſterday, whom they brought into *Oxford*; and that another partie of the Garriſon of *Banbury* Caſtle fell yeſterday on another part of his Excellencies Reare, which ſtayed behind at *Chipping-Norton*, tooke eighteene Troopers with their Horſe and Armes, one Enſigne, one Sergeant, one Drum-Major, and a *London Poſt* with many Letters from the Souldiers to their Friends in *London*; out of whoſe Paccuets I am furniſhed with many of my notes and obſervations for theſe two laſt Weekes, and I thanke them for it.

Some newes may be expected from the *North* to conclude this Weeke; eſpecially conſidering that the laſt Weekes *Parliament Scout* hath told us of ſo many Sallies made by thoſe in *Yorke*, but in all beaten and repulſed: In one place he makes the taking of *Yorke* ſuch an eaſie matter, that he would have it done immediately before the *Generaliſſimo* beſiegeth *Oxford*,

Oxford, who then might have a great part of the Earle of *Manchesters* Army to assist him in it (no question but great aide will come from the Earle of *Manchester*, when he goes about it;) and yet affirmes within a very little after, that *the City of* Yorke *is like to hold out longer then was expected, and is better provided then was supposed*. and then he breakes out in rage and passion, that *had they known this*, that *had beene better* for them to *have forced the* Towne, *then to have stormed it* (assuredly the man may be a learned *Scout*, but he wants termes of Art to describe a *Siege*.) It seemes all goes not well with his friends at *Yorke*; and that there is some thing which gall's him whatsoever it be. Which makes me the more apt to believe the Advertisements which came from *Banbury* this day; by which was signified that the *Scots* were beaten off from *Yorke*, some thousands of them killed and taken, many of their chiefe Commanders slaine, and that the Marquesse of *Newcastle* is marched into the field againe, and hath joyned his Horse and Foote together: the rather in regard it had beene credibly reported some three daies agoe, that Prince *Rupert* and the Marquesse were joyned, (which hath beene since confirmed by very good hands; (and that it was reported by some of the *Roundheads* as they marched thorow *Stamford* (as was certified this evening also) that the *Scots* had received a great blow, and lost many thousands. As it shall prove hereafter upon further intelligence, it shall bee either confirmed, or contradicted, according to that candour and zeale to truth, which hath bin ruled before on the like occasions.

This evening late came a Letter dated *June* 7. out of the *West*, speaking thus: Prince *Maurice* continues before *Lime*, and hath received new supplyes of Munition: some Horse and small Vessels have bin fired. The Army is in good condition, rather increased then diminished, by reason the Country apprehending the Princes rising from the Siege, came in cheerefully, as being sensible to what miseries they should be daily exposed, should that rebellious Den be opened againe, and the Kings forces removed.

FINIS.

Numb. 40.

Mercurius Britanicus.

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 17. of *June*, to *Monday* the 24. of *June*. 1644.

SIr *William Waller* is ordered by the house to go on in *pursuit* of the *great designe*, and the *States* of the Kingdom are to allow him his provisions, and pay while he continues out of the line of his *Association*: thus every action is spirited by a *Publick care*, and the payments are geometrically made, and no Counties are to be further charged, then where there is a just and evident advantage to themselves. Sir William Waller to pursue the great designe.

There is a *Committee* ordered for taking into their *debate* the severall *summes* of money *subscribed* by the *honourable* Members of the *house* for the advancement of the *publicke services*, let the Kingdom now judge who serves them faithfullest, the *Court minions*, or those of their *own Country*, who think it not enough to lay out themselves in daily sittings, for this three years, but their moneys too, nay to cleare themselves to the world in their publick receipts, they have enabled Commissioners to take in the accounts of the publick disbursments, and thus the *Supreame Court* of the Kingdom doth even subordinate it self to a lower *Tribunall*: rather then run the hazard of being suspected guilty of any thing, but adventuring all in the *Publicke service*. A Committee.

It is *ordered* concerning the *Plate* and *Jewels* in Saint *Jameses*, that money shall be taken up upon them, for advancing the expedition of Colonell *Brown*; who would have thought six year ago that St. *Jameses* should have proved a Magazeen for the publicke? who would have thought that when the *old Jewell* or Carbuncle the *Queen mother* was there, that ever Saint *Jameses* should have *contributed* to this cause? a place which she so wofully *polluted* with sinnes and Sacrifices. An Order concerning the plate and Jewels found at St. Jameses.

The *Lords* sent a *Message* to the *Commons* concerning some *Propositions* A Message from the Lords to the Commons.

tions of peace, which the *Ambaſſadours* from the *States of Holland*, had to *communicate* with them, and deſired a Committee of their houſe to joyn with a *Committee* of the Lords to receive what the *Ambaſſadors* had to ſay, but it was not yet reſolved on by the houſe; we muſt needs ſay that the *States of Holland* do very honourably *intercede* in our differences, onely I wiſh that they were wellread in our *Oxford Treatie*, and treacheries, for alas, *Forrain States* looke on them through their own proceedings, and through nationall perſpectives, and obſerves not the vanity, treachery, perfidy, perjury, equivocations, and reſervations of the *Kings party*; but yet I muſt needs commend the *peaceable negotiations* of the *Ambaſſadors*, only I muſt remember that *State*, ſtill to lay their powder out of the Queenes reach.

An Ordinance preparing for putting on more able perſons to beare Armes.

There is an *Ordinance* preparing for putting on ſuch able perſons within the *Line of Communication* to beare *Armes* in theſe *times* of *publicke danger*, this is but juſt that the *defence* ſhould be as publick and Common as the extremity, and theſe are times wherein it is as *neceſſary* to be a *Souldier*, as a *Chriſtian*, our cloathing hath been too ſoft hitherto, and we have not uſed our delicate, and pamperd ſelves to ſteele and Iron, ſuch a *generall poſture* through the Kingdom would do well, and is it amiſſe to be able to *reſiſt* before we be *aſſaulted*?

An Ordinance for relieving of ſick and maimed Souldiers, &c.

There is an *Ordinance* for 200. li. to be paid weekly out of the *Exciſe* for *ſicke* and *maimed Souldiers*, and for reliefe of the *Wives* and *children* of ſuch as have been *ſlain* in the *ſervice* of the *Parliament*, this is *State charity*, to heale the miſeries of our own making, and it is the moſt poſſible ſupply, and recompence, that when we cannot give them the *lives* of their friends and husbands again, yet to give them their *livelyhoods*; that makes the *States* of the *Netherlands* flouriſh, and their famous *charity* ingages Divine *Providence* to bleſſe them with a daily proſperity.

A Petition.

A *Petition* was given into the *Houſe* from many of the Iles of *Jerſey* and *Garneſey*, that ſome way be thought on, for reducing thoſe *Ilands* from the power of the enemy, it is *referred* to the Committee of the Navy, and it is a very juſt and honourable redreſſe, yet *Ilands* are the beſt kinde of habitations for *Malignants*, for it is pitty ſuch *wicked ſpirits* ſhould live upon the *Continent* of this world, but rather ſeparated and at diſtance to all Chriſtianity.

The commodity of Aſſociating.

The *Northerne Aſſociation* of *Derby*, and *Lancaſhire* to the other Counties, is referred to the Committee of both Kingdoms, who are to report their conceptions of it to the houſe, it was at firſt recommended from the Committee in *Yorkſhire*, and believe it this *State engine* of Aſſociation, is the way to propagate the *Parliamentary power* over the whole Kingdom,

and

and if *Lancashire* had been *Associated*, *Rupert* had not made such a bloody journey there as he hath done; and it is an excellent policy to *Associate* the *North*, those *Counties* will do best, when congealed and frozen into a *confederation*, and places that are so farre from the *Parliament* had need have such a *chaine* as that of *Association* to winde about them, and hold them fast from revolting, and starting back.

There are *severall Orders* in the house occasioned by my Lard *Admirall* the noble Earle of *Warwick*; service in the businesse of *Lime*. Severall Orders.

1. That a *Letter* be drawn up and sent to him, how *sensible* the house is of this *great service*, and to returne him the *thanks* of the whole house; these *Parliamentary acknowledgements* and gratulations are good for the publick, either by land or water; and indeed that excellent Lord deserves *thankes* of no lesse dimension then a Parliament. A Letter of thankes to be sent to the Lord Admirall.

2. That a *Letter* be drawn as from the whole house to the *Town of Lime*, to informe them that the house takes speciall notice of their faithfull and valiant service: And it is a gratefull and worthy act of the house to let no desert escape their notice, it is not fit that such places as have borne the heate of the day should coole under the shadow of a State neglect. Another Letter to be sent to Lyme.

3. That the *Lord Maior* be desired to send *notice* to all *Churches* and *Chappels* in and about *London* and *Middlesex*, to desire the *ministers* in their *prayer* the next *Lords day* to give *thankes* to God for the great *deliverance* of that place. Thanksgiving to be given for the deliverance of Lime.

Indeed we have not enough of these *Orders* for Thanksgivings, this is the best *musick* we can make to *heaven* for our blessings and deliverance; I observe we have day after day of humiliation, and fasting, and craving, and we have standing dayes too once in a moneth, I know no reason but we may have a *standing day* as well of Thanksgiving, and perhaps wee should have more, if we gave to God as freely as he gives to us.

The house of *Commons* doe adhere to the former Ordinance of not *re-admitting* any members of either house, with the consent of both, it is referred to a *Committee* for drawing up reasons for it, this is an *act* of concernment to both houses, that neither shall open their doores without the others consent, it were happy if one key would open both, and for the reasons that are to be presented to them, this is the only way of perswading States and Counsels, to reason them into a consent to the same act. The Commons adhere to their Ordinance for not admitting any members without consent of both houses.

The *Ordinance* for authorising Major Generall *Browne*, is for advancing to *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, and *Banbury*, is even now ready, this valiant Commander knowes how to take in garrisons, since he was in *Kent*. An Ordinance concerning Major Generall Browne.

It is *ordered* that the *Lawyers* of the house of *Commons* do meete, and The Inns of Court to be purged of Malignants.

take in to them the Burgeſſes of the houſes, or Inns of Courts, and that they draw up an *Ordinance* for putting all ſuch out of thoſe places, and the *Princes Court* too, as are malignant and diſaffected; it is now time to look to theſe *lodgings* and Chambers, for they were growne the very *boxes* and *Cloſets of malignancy*, and whereas before they were *pleading houſes* and *mouting places*, they were of late let and farmed privately out that the Parliament ſaw not, to *plotters*, and *deſigners*, and *betrayers* of the Cauſe: Many that had a villany in his head againſt the *State*, hee might ſoon take a Chamber in *Grayes-Inn*, or the *Temple*, and had they not been obſerved, I am perſwaded ſhortly they would have fortified the places, and kept garriſons, and turned out the Law.

An Ordinance concerning the paying and keeping Sir William Wallers forces together.

The *Ordinance* for continuing Sir *William Wallers* forces together, and the paying of them from the expiration of the loſt is ſet on, thus things are in continuall *motion*, and one thing ſprings out of the aſhes of another, and periods in *State affaires*, are but faire riſes and advantages for buſineſſe to begin from.

Siege of Lime raiſed.

The ſiege of *Lime* is raiſed, the little Town is grown as big in reputation, as the greateſt City in the Kingdome, the Earle of *Warwicke*, Lord high Admirall, hath much contributed to this deliverance, by landing divers men from his Ships, and ſending them a ſupply of all proviſions, both meat and Ammunition.

Dorcheſter.

His *Excellency* writes that his head Quarter is at *Dorcheſter*, from whence he would advance for *Weymouth*, his Excellency hath made a long arme into the Weſt, he may in time reach over into *Exeter*, to her Majeſty; the ghoſt of Prince *Maurice* as it paſſed by *Dorcheſter*, with ſome Regiments of ſpirits after it, was denyed entrance and entertainment, they know their uſage too well, and the cuſtomes of Cavaliers, and ſtay but a while, and there is not a Town in the Kingdome, but you ſhall ſee will grow ſick of them, and vomit them out, as well as *Dorcheſter*.

Weymouth ſurrendred.

Weymouth is ſurrendred to his Excellencies Summons, wherein are 80. great pieces, and all other proviſions, the truth is this, the enemy is now fitting themſelves for another world; they have ſo plundered and murdered in this, that every Town is ready upon the firſt appearance of our Armies to ſubmit, rather then ſtand open to the enemies next approach.

L. Roberts.

The Lord *Roberts* it is thought ſhall be ſent by his *Excellency* into *Cornwall*, that place is his Lordſhips ſoile, and *Cornwall* may receive ſuch an influence from him, that it may beare fruit for the Parliament hereafter.

His Majeſtie returne to Oxford.

His Majeſty is returned to *Oxford* with two thouſand horſe, ſuch a *progreſſe* is very unhappy both for a King and Kingdome, he will ride about

bout ſo long, till he jade his Chevalry, and leave them tired in their *Popery*, he leaves ſome behinde him, they ſay, as he gallops, it ſeemes the wings of his Army are but rotten, when the feathers drop out ſo faſt.

Sir *William Waller* is returning, and purſuing the *Royall chaſe*, who could ever have thought his Majeſty would have led his Subjects ſuch a bloody pace through his Kingdome; ſure he haſtened back towards the *Aſſociated Counties*, on purpoſe to breake in now, when the buſhes that lay in the paſſages were taken out, but ſure *Maior Browne* will looke ſo well to his work of Aſſociation, that his Majeſtie may perhaps go ride from *Oxford* againe, I would this ayring abroad this Summer would purifie his Royall breaſt, and make him a little healthfuller in the Proteſtant Religion. The Royall Chaſe.

In the North there hath been a *Treaty*, Our brethrens Commiſſioners were the Earle of *Lindſey*, a gallant, prudent, active, young ſpirit, taller in ſoule then body: for the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *William Fairfax*, as honourable in himſelfe as his name, and Colonell *White*, as full of Candor, as gallantry of ſpirit: for the Earle of *Manchester*, Colonell *Hammond*, and Colonell *Ruſſell*, two as valiant as famous, it began on *Friday*, one of the Popiſh and Prelatick Faſting dayes, and I warrant you their Organ pipes and Anthems went in *York* for conſecrating the Treaty all the time. A Treaty at York, with the deſcription of the Commiſſioners.

Commiſſioners on the enemies ſide were the Lord *Widdrington*, who is almoſt come to himſelf, and his pride is pretty well evacuated, ſince he was dieted in the City this ſiege time.

Sir *Thomas Glenham*, ſilly Sir *Thomas*, whoſe braines were daſhed out long ago, and he hath gone in an empty head piece ever ſince.

Sir *Thomas Metham* one who would uſually ſwear a Brigade of oaths in a morning, and ſince the Siege began, and I dare ſay he hath ſworne as many as there are bullets and Cornes of powder in their magazine at *York*, and it hath done them ſome good for I ought I know, for they had ſcarce remembred heaven, had not Sir *Thomas* told them of it in his ſwearing.

Sir *Thomas Strickland* was another Commiſſioner, jeſter to the Popiſh Army in the North.

Their demands were to march away with all but the City of *Yorke*, and that was not ſo eaſie for carriage.

One of the Articles was for the Cathedrall ſervice ſtill to be kept going, ſure this was occaſioned by ſome Idolatrous Petition ſubſcribed by *Coſins*, *Stanhop*, *Hodgin*, *Thruſchroſſe*, the Pagan Prieſts or Doctors, and the reverend ſinging men with their boyes, and all the Common prayer men, and women about the Town; but I muſt not let theſe paſſe without a daſh from my pen, that the State may know their deſerts. The Character of ſome Doctors, &c. in York.

Dr. *Stanhope* is a cruell, but a smooth and smiling Malignant, he is brother to Sir *Edward* the fornicator, that takes so much delight in Tulips and Chambermaids, especially in old Mistris *Mole*.

Doctor *Hudgin* hath eat of late fed upon Venison and Capons; but I suppose the Siege hath taken down the fat Prelate halfe a yard in his body at the least, he is a Widdower in the day time, except Mistris *Atkinson* of *Yorke*, accompany him in the night.

Thurscrosse is as leane with his Superstition, as the other is fat up with his Venison, nothing but skin, and bones, and Idolatry.

Colonell Charles Fairfax. Colonell *Charles Fairfax* son to that gallant old Lord *Fairfax* hath taken as they say the Lord *Dunbar*; he is one of the most corpulent Papists in the North, and if ever any had a *Pope* in his belly, it is he, for I know not any whose body is in a larger capacity for holding the Metropolitan of *Rome* then himselfe.

For that of Christ-Church in the last *Britanicus*, I desire that nothing be interpreted towards the Minister, one of a godly life, and eminent parts, in an unlavory construction; what I hold out, is only against the practice of any of our old Superstitions, which I shall defend to be inexcusable in any, either by personall acting, or connivency, since the taking of our Covenant.

His Excellencie. His Excellency hath made a happy progresse into the West, he hath met with some of their *garrisons*, *Ships*, much Armes, Ammunition, and Ordnance, he hath to his great honour opened a large doore into those parts, I could wish that the Coine for his Majesties souldiers might not come too fast that way to this City, which is grived in the West, by the *quondam* foole of the Red Bull, now stampt for a knave in brasse, I mean farthing tokens, made now in the West, which should they be brought hither, would make some Brewers, Bakers, Grocers, Salters, Cheesemongers, Chandlers, and Victuallers (no Brokers) desirous to shut them out of doores, lest the losse by them, and the tokens here, made them shut up their doores: The losse the Subject sustaines by Farthings is so great, that it deserves a redresse.

Cane.

The Kings Progresse. On *Sunday* the King lay at *Evesham*, on *Monday* dined at *Stow*, and that night lay at *Burford*, but in the way the *Governour* of *Sudeley* Castle fell upon the *Reare* of them and took 60. of them, horse and Armes, and carried them prisoners to the Castle: Upon the *Tuesday* his Majestie arrived at *Woodstocke*, there all the Countrey was commanded to bring in all their Arrears for the monethly tax in provisions for his Army; upon *Wednesday* we hear he marched into *Oxford*.

Sir William Waller. Sir *William Waller* as is informed Quartered on *Saturday* at *Tewkesbury*, but is now ordered to follow the *Rejall Chase*, and divers forces that may be spared out of some Counties, are for that purpose to attend upon him at what place he shall thinke fit to appoint his Rendezvous.

Prince

Prince *Rupert* is hard at worke in fortifying his new conquest at *Leverpoole*; *Goring* hath left him with 3000. horse and is coming down towards his Majesty, having passed the river of *Mersie* between *Cheshire* and *Lancashire* the last *Lords day* but one, but with the losse of 60. of his men, and one of his great pieces of Ordnance. Rupert.

Colonell *Skrimsaw* Major of Prince *Ruperts* own Regiment was taken at *Postar* and by Sir *William Waller* sent prisoner to *Warwicke*, at which place the Earle of *Leicester* is now also in custody. Colonell Skrimsaw.

At the first taking in of *Weymouth*, *Melcombe Regis*, and *Sanfoot* Castle where in were above 80. pieces of Ordnence, 27. whereof were mounted to defend the *Town* and out-works, the rest were taken in the Ships and Castle; at first 80. Barrels of powder were discovered, but since that time above hundred Barrels more are found, and 2000. Muskets: And his *Excellency* is now upon his march towards her Majestie and *Maurice*, but I believe her Majesty likes not his visit as well as she doth others, and will not stay to entertaine him. More Ammunition found in Weymouth, &c.

Our last *newes* from *Yorke* is, that the *Treaty* is quite broken off, that our Common Souldiers are very glad of it, expecting to win the more by their storming of that City: on the sixteenth of this instant *June* a *Myne* was sprung at the Earle of *Manchesters* Quarters, which tooke effect, and did great *Execution* on the Enemy, forcing them to runne and leave their Armes, and two hundred of the Earle of *Manchesters* foot had possessed themselves of the enemies workes in that place; but the enemie finding that no other *Myne* was sprung in any other part of the Towne, nor no storming of any place by any other part of the *Besiegers* Army, they bent most of their Forces to this breach, and with *cleane force* beate them from their worke, tooke an hundred and sixty prisoners, and slew neere fourty, this happened by springing of that *Myne* before the time agreed upon with the other Quarters of the Army, which was a great fault in the Engineer, or whosoever had a hand in it; I believe you will heare of no more such errours during the Siege. Yorke.

Antieus walkes about the City in his winding sheet, and is to be seen in *Westminster Hall*, and appears now and then in *Paules* Church yard, and here I place him as I told you: he begins thus,

This day sayes he began ill, but ended well; this day then does more then ever any of them will do, *begin ill, and end well*; *the ill newes from* Newbridge *was recompenced sayes he with the good successe of his Majesties forces the last night at* Golworth-bridge: Yes, the very last night, victories are most in the night, when no body sees them, but themselves, and they

they fight better by night then by day, when they do not see the danger.

Newes came this evening of the remarkable successe, which God gave Prince Ruperts *highnesse in Lancashire*, just as God gave *Iob* into the Divels hands, but take heed how ye thanke God for a victory over his own people.

The Earle of Derby *returned to* Latham *again, his own house, to the great comfort of his Lady*; hold, you know not that, it may be his Lady had rather have his house then his company, she has Commanders enough with her; but for shame disgrace not the Earle thus, to say he durst only return to *Latham*, when all was ended.

But his Majesty knew his person was the game principally aimed at by those mighty Hunters; take heed of jeering Kings; what will you have his Majestie to be, if we be the Hunters, he will you never leave remembring *Court infirmities*?

His Majesty went and left behinde him at Oxford *the Duke of* York, *and almost all the Lords of the Privy Counsell*; and left he nothing else behinde him? Yes, almost all the Protestant Religion.

But he gave Orders for prayers and Sermons to be kept upon Sundayes and Tuesdayes: What prayers? Common prayers I warrant you, for *Sundayes*, and *Tuesdayes* then are your dayes of devotion, and all the dayes else you swear and plunder in.

George Willoughby *writes to the Lord of* Pathan, *that there fell hail upon them as big as Nutmegs*; Yes, hail like Nutmegs, and Thunder bolts like Ginger, and raine like *Hull* Ale, and lightning like soft, this fellow writ this Intelligence over a mornings draught.

His Majestie having eaten and refreshed himselfe in Master Parrets *house where he drew up his Army*; sure his Army was not very considerable, that could be drawn up in Master *Parrets* house.

It is an ordinary thing for Dreams to run down those staires on which they mounted to that height, then if his Majestie succeed, let *Cottington*, *Bristoll*, and *Digby* look to themselves.

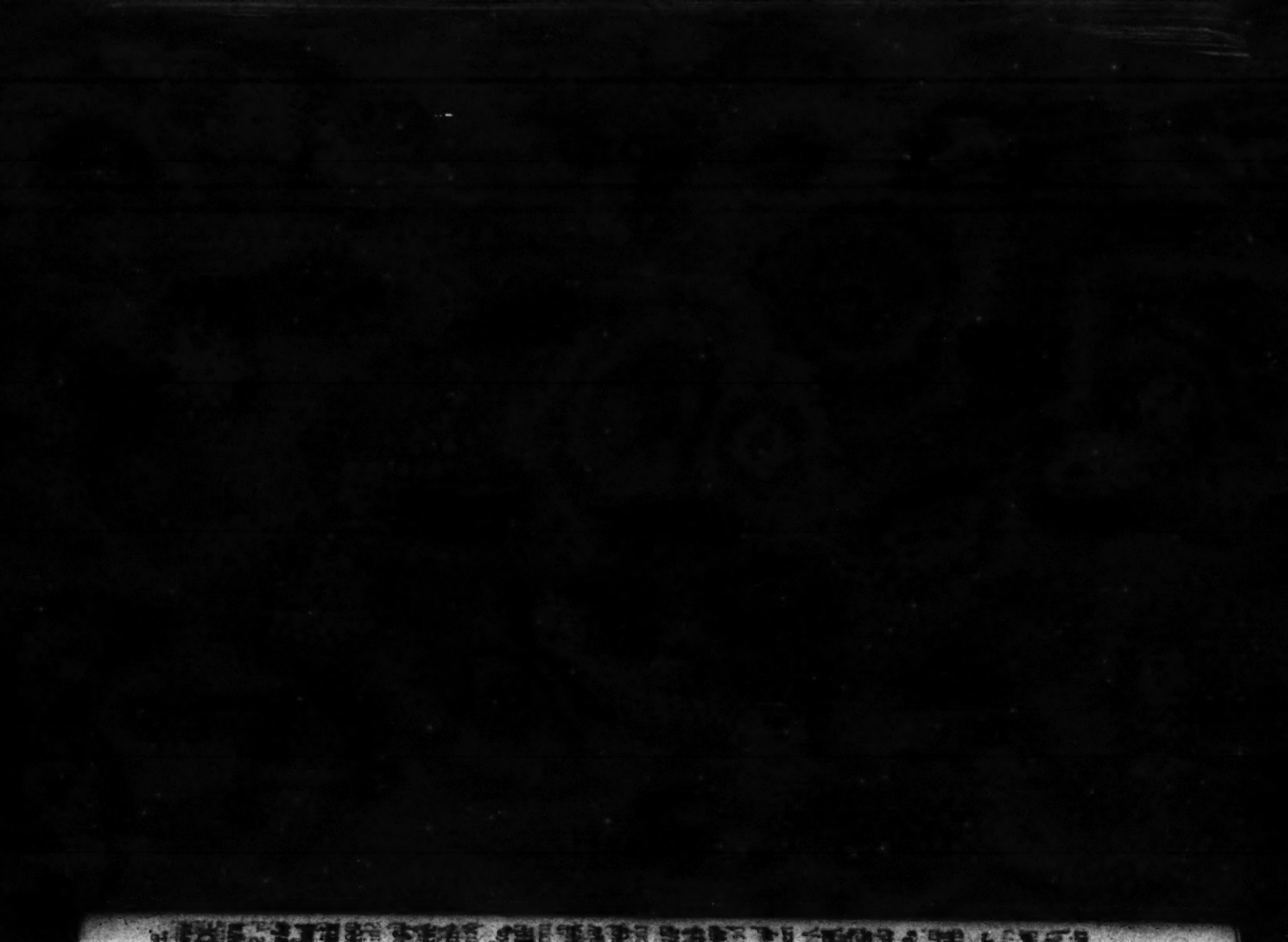
After a long lie upon *Hull* he concludes, *these particulars I shall represent, and Essentia nothing*; no it is not your best, and for your *particulars*, I wonder you have no more, they are easy to be had at this rate, and never take the paines to go to *Hull* for them, a Town that your little Marquisse in *Yorke* knowes as well as his Majestie.

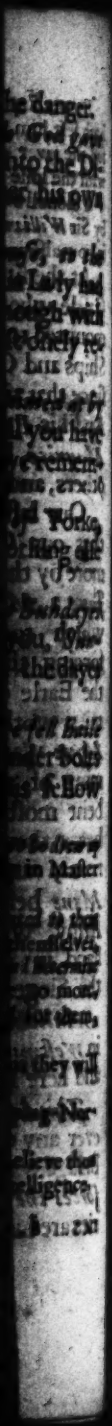
And so having brought both their Generals out of Oxfordshire I leave them; but they will not leave you so, nor *Oxford*, nor Oxfordshire neither.

A Party of his Majesties took some eighteen of his Excellencies men at Chipping Norton; Yes, some of the Chippings of his Army.

I thanke a London *Post whose Packets furnished me with many of my notes*, we believe that hadst thy newes of some Post, that would not stay for halt to bring true Intelligence.

Printed according to Order, by *Robert White*





NEVVES

From the Siege before

YORKE.

BEING

A Letter from an eminent perſon out of the Leaguer there; dated the 16. of *June.* 1644.

TOGETHER

With the Articles for the rendring of it up, which were interchangably propounded and ſent on both ſides.

Authorized according to Order.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. O.* for *H. S. June.* 24. 1644.

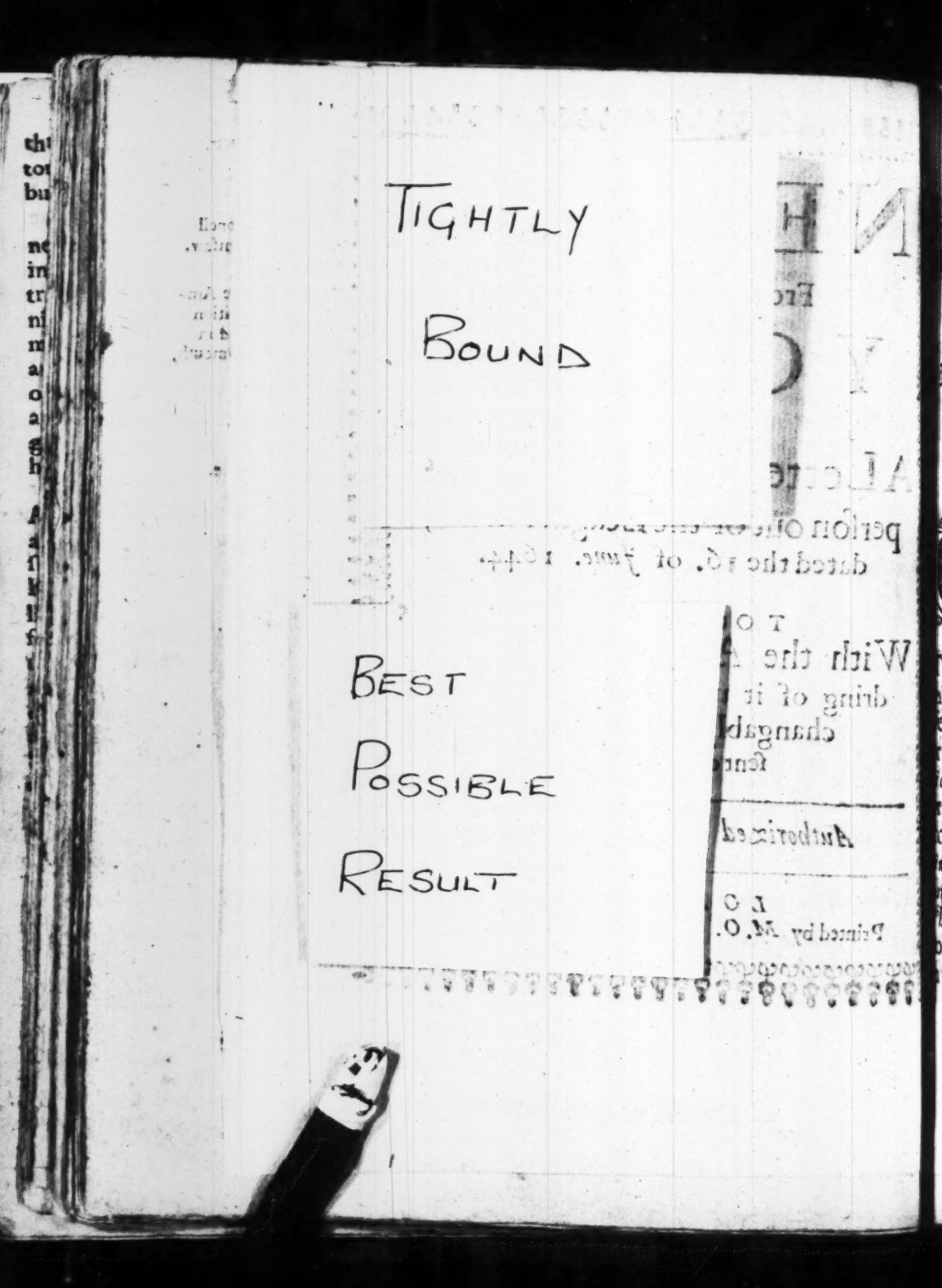
TIGHTLY

BOUND

BEST

POSSIBLE

RESULT



A LETTER
from an Eminent Perſonage at the Leagure before *Yorke*, dated there the 16. of *June*. 1644.

UPon Friday morning early the Marqueſſe *New-caſtle* wrote to our Generals offering a Parley to begin that after-noone at three a clock, and to continue till eight at night, and a ceſſation of Armes for three houres before, and three houres after to be held in ent without the Wals, betwixt our Fort and theirs; with a iration of Guards, to ſuch number and diſtance as ſhould be e and neceſſarie: he named for Commiſsioners onely to treat himſelfe. The Lord *Widrington*, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir chard *Hutton*, Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *Robert Strickland*, *Thomas Meſham*, and Maſter *Robert Rockley*: Our Generalls cepted the offer in all poynts, and ſent for them; the Earle of adſey, the Lord *Hnmby*, Lieutenant Generall *Baylie*, Sir *Wil-* *m Fairefax* Colonell *Hamond*, Colonell *Ruſſell*, and Colonell *hite*: Theſe fourteen met on Friday laſt, and the enemy pro-ounded to our men certaine Articles which they brought in writing, but would not ſuffer our Commiſsioners to read nor

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coppy them. The Heads of them were such as appeare in
other Paper herewith sent. Our Commissioners propound
to them also certaine conditions, the true Coppy whereof I se
here also, offering a Coppy to the enemies to carry into York,
be considered of, and after to return Answer. The enemies Co
missioners would not accept the Paper, but scornfully & pro
ly said, They were below their condition, and much other pro
language, which I cannot now write: so the Commissioners p
ted. But when Generall *Lesley* heard that the adversaries Com
sioners refused to take the Paper containing the Conditions; h
presently closed the Paper in a Letter to the Marquesse *N*
castle, and sent it by a Drum: Vnto which Letter and Propos
ons the Marq *New castle* yesterday after-noon returned an A
swer to this effect following. That our Generals pretending a de
sire to prevent the effusion of bloud, had framed and rendred
him such Conditions as neither he nor any man of Hono
with him could condiscend unto any one of them: yet h
would still be ready to deliver up the Towne upon such term
as he had offered him by his Commissioners the day befor
So you see the businesse is now plainly left to be decided by t
Sword, of which the common Souldiers on our Party are no
thing sorry: The last night the enemy made fires on the to
of the Minster, and *Cliffords Tower*, and were answered b
the like from *Pomfret* Castle, which is a signall of succours com
ming towards them: but I see no likelihood of any: fo
yesterday and and this day also, we have Letters from Man
chester that Prince *Rupert* hath on Saturday and Friday la
sent part of his Army and Ordnance over the River *Mers*
into Cheshire, and hath left one of his greatest Pieces in th
pa

ſſage of the Water: Some conjecture he intends to beſiege *Warrington*: others thinke he goes to ſuccour the King: If he omes this way, our Armies are ready to encounter him.

After I had concluded this letter, word was brought mee that he Earle of *Manchesters* men never acquainting our other Forces ith their intention, ſprung a myne this afternoon, which did ood execution, making a large breach in the wals into the manur, by which thoſe forces entred and poſſeſſed themſelves of he Mannour, the enemies guards laying down their armes: But he enemie drawing all their forces that way, beare out our men gaine, with the loſſe of 200. of our partee, and the other armies ould not come to their ſuccour, having no notice of it.

The heads of their Propoſitions, as I heard them reported by our Commiſſioners at their return, made by the Marqeſſe of *Newcaſtles* Commiſſioners, touching the Rendition of Yorke, *June* 14. 1644.

First, That himſelfe, with all the Commanders and ſouldiers, ſhould march away to the King with all their Ordnance, Armes, ammunition, money, plate, bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, &c.

2. *That the Parliaments forces ſhould furniſh them with victuals, carriages, and convoy through their Quarters, they marching one-eight miles a day.*

3. *That*

2. *That the Citizens and others in* York *should not be questi[oned] for passedacts.*

4. *That no Oath or Covenant should be imposed upon any of the*

5. *That the Churches and all belonging to them should be prese[rved] from violence or defacing, and that the books of Common-pra[yer] should be allowed to be used in them.*

6. *That before their forces march out or render the Towne, th[ey] should be allowed 20. dayes liberty to expect forces from the King[,] Prince* Rupert, *and if any came in the meane time, then they not [to] be tyed to render the place at all.*

This I conceive was the substance, but I have them onely i[n] memory, which is apt to faile.

Propositions sent from the three Generalls for the Parliament to the Treatie, June 14. 1644.

That the Citie of York *with all the Forts, together with all ar[ms] Ordnance, Ammunition, and other Warlike provisions whatsoeve[r] in and about the same, be rendred up to us, for the use of the Kin[g] and Parliament.*

Upon the Conditions following, viz.

Fir[st,]

1ſt, That the Common Souldiers ſhall have free liberty and licence to depart and goe to their owne homes, and to carry with them their cloaths and their own moneyes, not exceeding 1. dayes pay, and ſhall have ſafe conduct & protection of their perſons from violence; They promiſing that they will not hereafter take up Armes againſt the Parliament or Peoteſtant Religion.

2. That the Citizens and ordinary Inhabitants of the ſaid Citie, ſhall have their Perſons, goods, and Houſes protected from violence, and ſhall have the ſame free Trade and Comerce as others under obedience of the King and Parliament, and that no Regiments or Companies ſhall be admitted or quartered in the Towne of *Yorke*, except thoſe that are appointed for the Gariſon thereof.

3. That the Officers of all qualities ſhall have liberty to goe to their own homes with Swords and Horſes, and ſhall have ſafe conduct to protection to that effect, and ſhall have licence to carry their aparell and money along with them, the money not exceeding one monthſs pay for every ſeverall Officer.

4. That any Officer, who ſhall be recommended by the Marq: of *Newcaſtle*, ſhall have a paſſe from any one of the Generalls to goe beyond the Seas, they promiſing not to ſerve againſt the Parliament and Proteſtant Religion.

5. That the Gentry and other Inhabitants of the County of *Yorke* ſhall have liberty to goe to their owne homes, and ſhall be protected from violence.

6 That

6. That a positive answer be returned to these Propositi
by three of the clock to morrow in the Afternoone, being
15. of this instant *Iune*: And in case they shall not be then re
ted, we shall not then hold our selves bound to them; and in
meane time we declare that there is no Cessation after 3. ho
already granted.

Subscribed by

The Earle of *Leven.*
The Lord *Fairfax.*
The Earle of *Manchester.*

FINIS.

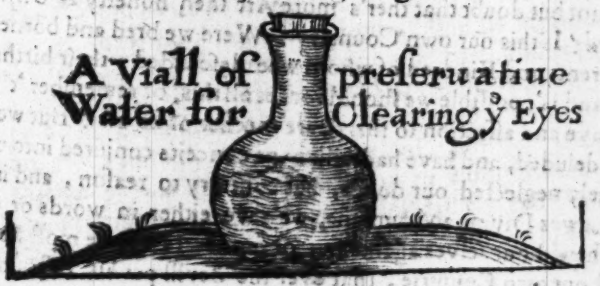
THE EYE CLEARD;

OR

A PRESERVATIVE FOR THE SIGHT.

Being a quaint Compoſition without *Fenell* or *Eye-bright*, to reſtore the *Poreblind*, and make the *Squint-Eye* to looke forthright. With the gratefull acknowledgement of much comfort already received in that kinde by divers, through this, and other Remedies applyed by the *Author*.

Such as were blinde, and now can ſee,
Let 'em uſe this Receipt with me,
'Twill cleare the Eye, preſerve the Sight,
And give the underſtanding Light.



Printed according to Order for *G. Biſhop*, June 25. 1644.

The Eye Clear'd,

OR

A PRESERVATIVE FOR

THE

SIGHT.

WHat's here! another paire of Spectacles? No, it shall not need, the world 's well amended; such as of late appear'd to be meer *Barbarians* both in their carriage and expressions are now recovered, come home, and grown penitent! their sights are cleer'd already, and the mistak'n discovered, as will appeare by this their voluntarie recantation in honest English, their owne Countrey language.

Why how have wee beene couzened, how blinded, how inchanted? when we consider how unreasonably our reasons have miscarried, we cannot but doubt that ther's more Art then honesty at *Oxford*; Is this *England*? Is this our own Countrey? Were we bred and borne here? Had our Parents and Kindred of whom wee descended, their births and buriall here? and is't possible we should forget all this, or remember't without infinite love and affection to this deare mother of us all? But we have been basely deluded, and have had villanous conceits conjured into us; we have not onely neglected our duties, but contrary to reason, and in contempt of all Lawes Divine and humane, we have either in words or actions, or both, shew'd our selves agents in, or fartherers of the most horrid designe against our own Countrie, that ever the devill put his Instruments upon: from which we have nothing to cleer us, but that that condemnes us, our ig-no-

ignorance. But we are now become ſencible of our faults and follies, and willing to confeſſe them with ſhame and ſorrow.

When Conſideration our new Pilate had diſcovered the Rocks we were running upon, we preſently alter'd our courſe, and ſteer'd for the Ile of Securitie, for upon notiſe taken of the lading, the fraight was found to be of no leſſe value then the proſperity of three Kingdomes, beſides our own lives, 'twas time to look about us: and now we have ſcap'd the danger, we cannot but thinke it our dueties to expreſſe as well our ſorrow for our errours, as joy for our deliverance, that we may once againe be held worthy the ſociety of Chriſtians.

We are not the firſt that have been miſtaken, but we muſt confeſſe ingeniouſly that we are the firſt that ever were ſo fowlie miſtaken, and led (*by Will with a Wiſpe*) ſo farre out of the way. It had been much for one of us to have plotted the death of his own Father, to have ſet a Town or two on fire, or (by the Popes advice) have indeavoured to poyſon a Prince for being a Proteſtant, the leaſt of theſe had been enough to have brought a black day, and a blacker night upon him, but we have been favourers of a hell-bred conſpiracie, wherein Religion, Lawes, Liberties, Father, Mother, Prince, people and all were to ſuffer, a buſineſſe of ſo ſtrange a nature that no Heathen Chronicle can fit it with a name. Thus had ignorance brought us ſo neer the brink of confuſion that providence ſeem'd to have much adoe to recover us. All our crie was wont to be, Shall wee not fight for our King! ſhall wee fight againſt our King? When allas wee knew not what we ſaid; but now our eyes are open we cannot but confeſſe that we have abus'd the King, abus'd the State, and abus'd our ſelves all this while; wee acknowledge that wee have deſerv'd the reproachfull name of Malignants, and may be aſham'd to ſay, Wee have had either eyes or underſtandings, wee have made ſo ill an uſe of them. VVee have cryed up the Papiſts, and cry downe the Proteſtants, we have dignified the Court, and vilified the Parliament, we have exalted the King in his Title, and pulled him down in his power, we have extoll'd the Prerogatiue and ſlighted the lawes; and in all this we have aſſiſted his Majeſtie in a quarrell againſt himſelf, been his enemies in taking his part, and in ſtanding for him betraid him. Allas what durſt the Papiſt have undertaken, if we had not countenanc'd 'em, and what could they have effected if we had not aſſiſted them? when the Plot was throughly digeſted, and the intelligence diſpearc'd, that the poiſon newly taken began to worke; when the name Round-head became odious to it's own God-fathers and God-mothers, and when we were made to beleeve that all the beſt people in *England* were

Annabaptiſts and Browniſts, then the Catholikes began to be courageous and cry *Vive la Roy*. Then they began to fall to worke for themſelves that had ſerv'd out their times with the Devill, and wee forſooth muſt be their journey-men that we might afterward become ſharers in their ſhame and ruine: In all their damnable proiects (by our compliance with 'em) their worke has been promoted, and their crime leſſen'd, ſuch has been their ſubtiltie, and our ſimplicitie; ſo that though they are before us in villanie, we are before them in infamie: They have their old and wellbeloved Roman Catholick Religion to plead for them, but allas we (many of us) have no Religion at all to excuſe us; indeed wee have ſtood moſt for Popery becauſe that has ſtood moſt for ignorance, and wee have made little doubt of ſalvation, becauſe wee have beene alwayes furniſh'd with a pleaſant conceit, that 'tis an eaſie matter to goe to heaven blinde-fold. Thus wee have indeavour'd to wrong our owne ſoules, injure the State, and diſhonour his Majeſtie; VVas it like that wee ſhould be friends to the King, when we were enemies to the Kingdome? is't poſſible that men ſhould be ſo blinde, ſo ſtupid, ſo mad as to conceive that the moſt horrid murthers and maſſackers that ever were heard of, could be begun, countenanc'd and continu'd for the honour of his Majeſtie, can wee without ſhame confeſſe that we thought it faire play for the baſeſt Rebells i'th world to kill the beſt Subjects by Authoritie (for they have ſo publiſhed it, and were never yet reproved for ſaying ſo) who would have thought that the broade Seale had been ſo broad as to reach into *Ireland* for ſuch a purpoſe? But we were ſtill kept to our Byas, by Declarrations and Proclamations (*O remembor bleeding Ireland*) by reading of which our eyes became ſo dazel'd, that 'twas long before wee could diſcerne truth from falſhood; And then againe we were intoxicated with whimſies of (this they ſay, and that they ſay,) They ſay the King fights for the Proteſtant Religion; they ſay he will goe over himſelf, and quell the Rebells in *Ireland*: They ſay he would faine come to *London*, and complie with his Parliament, but his wicked Counſell will not ſuffer him, and a hundred more ſaies, That ſeem'd to be pretty ſtuffe, and to have a good colour, ſo that we were mightily taken with 'em for a long time; but at laſt wee heard of other *Saies*, Northerne Saies, and VVeſterne Saies. They ſaid, The King is comming up with an Armie to *London*, to break up the Parliament: they ſay, Hee was loth to have his good Subjects of *Ireland* any longer proclaim'd Rebells, who have murdered about 200000. Proteſtants. They ſay he hath ſent for them to come over hither to waſh off that blood with as much more here; and many other Saies of the ſame weaving, and the ſame colour, crimſon

Saies,

Saies, or ſcarlet Saies, ſtuffs of ſo deep a dye, that 'twill hardly be waſh'd out withall the raine will fall betwixt this and Domes-day. Now theſe Saies we lik'd not ſo well, but as the former had inveagl'd us to be conſtant hunters, ſo theſe ſpoil'd all the ſport, and utterly frighted us out of the Forreſt of fooles. Indeed theſe bloody Saies were the firſt motives that drew us into a conſideration of our fearfull condition, and ſo by degrees to become Reformadoes in Colonell Round-heads Regiment. In which we doubt not but to make it appeare by our valours, that wee are friends to our King in fighting for our Countrie. And our hearty deſires are, and ſhall ever be, that his Maieſtie would ſeriouſly conſider (ſince he will fight) whether it be not better to fight to make his enemies his friends, then his friends his enemies, and to protect and preſerve his people that would preſerve His glory, then to ſet good and bad both together by the eares, till there be none left but a few fatherleſſe children, that when they ſhall come to pray for him, will be put out with the ſad remembrance of their Fathers death.

But ſince wee muſt fight, let us (if it be poſſible) mix reaſon with our rage, at leaſt in our controverſie of words, what ever wee doe in our blowes. Is it not madneſſe for a man to ſay, He fights for his King, that fights againſt his Countrie; is not the King a man? and what makes a man a King; if a King cannot be King without a Kingdom, then whether is hee more friend to the King, that fights for the Kingdom that makes him ſo, or he that fights to deſtroy it? Are your eyes open yet? you that ſay ye fight for the King, when ye fight to take away the Inheritance with the Title? But when you have granted this Trueth (which cannot be deni'd, then you fall upon his command, his will and pleaſure, which you call his Prerogative; this muſt be granted him, and ſo if his will and pleaſure be to have his People deſtroy one another, his Prerogative that ſhould preſerve his Power muſt bring it to nothing, and then you have done him good ſervice. Fie, fie, you are blinde ſtill, if Spectacles will not helpe you, the fault's not in your ſight; y'are wilfull and obſtinate, you have not diſcretion enough left to inform you, that the houſe y'are pulling downe will beat your own braines out. VVe that have been in the fire, are glad we have ſcap'd with ſinging, and if we come there againe, we deſerve to be burn'd; but our reſolutions are now not ſo much to ſhun the flame, as to quench it, not to leave it burning, but to put it out, he that help's not now, does but hinder, and hee that ſhewes not himſelf a friend, muſt needs be taken for an enemie. VVe are now in a Purgatory from whence we ſhall never be redeem'd with ſleepe and ſilence, (and the onely prevalent Praiers of the Papiſts will hardly be

purchaſed) wee muſt pray to the King of Kings (for here we are diſpiſed) to ſtand for us, if we humble our ſelves, and pray as we ought, hee'l heare and helpe us, if we can once get into his favour, we ſhall not need to feare the Plotts of the Papiſt, the rage of the Rebell, nor the mights of any Monarch: If we will be content to be rul'd by him, ſerve and follow him, hee'l put us into ſuch a poſture, that if the Prince of Darkneſſe ſhall bring up all his reſerve, and joyne 'em with thoſe already in armes in his ſervice, they ſhall never prevaile againſt the Goſpel, and then we ſhall march againſt our enemie with courage, and fight without fear, if we loſe our lives, then wee are ſure to get well by the bargaine; not a man that dies in ſuch a cauſe, in ſuch a quarrell, in ſuch a condition, but gaines a better Kingdome for himſelf, then that he redeems with loſſe of his life for another.

Are not theſe good incouragements my maſters? who would not fight for a Kingdome? Come, you that are behinde hand with the Covenant (or have taken it with an ill reſolution) lift up your eyes a little, ſee how glorioufly the heavens look, and conſider their Maker, yee have ſworne many thouſands of Oathes, enough (indeed) to damne you (if God ſhould be as harſh with you, as you have been with him) ſpare one now for a good purpoſe, doe as your betters have done, enter into Covenant with your Maker, and then ioyne with thoſe that had rather looſe their lives, then live to ſee the King loſe his Kingdomes through the malitious practiſes of the Known enemies to God and Religion; this is the only way for ye to ſhew that ye love the King, and to bring you into favour with God, that ſets up, and pulls down at his pleaſure.

If you have honours, this is the way to increaſe 'em, if you have eſtates, by this meanes ye may preſerve them, if you have honeſt friends, this is the way to keep 'em; but if ye want all or either of theſe, this is the way to purchaſe 'em: Is't not wonderfull that all men generally ſhould be ſo apt and active with hazard of their lives to purchaſe gold and glory, and that now there ſhould be a generation of men living, that will hardly be intreated with the gaine of both, to procure their owne ſafeties? how many of us have already paid deerly for our obſtinacy? and hazarded our ſouls by looſing our eſtates, an unparral'd marke of mallice. VVe have given to helpe on our ruines willingly, and by that meanes, have been forc'd to give againe for our preſervations againſt our wills: wee have parted with a great part of our eſtates, for the hurt of the Kingdom, and a ſmall part given for the preſervation of it has undone us; O miſerable wretches! we have ſtuddied Objections againſt the preſent taxes by the Parliament, and defences againſt the former by the King; unlawfull Monopolies, then to pick our purſes for

ever,

ever, and keep us without Parliaments we talke of with content, but legall impoſitions now, to help put an end to our miſeries, and to end with them, we cannot indure. This has been our beſt condition, and (indeed) the condition of the beſt of us; For many of us have run our ſelves by worſe practiſes into greater perills, we have had ſtrange hopes to become gainers by changing our conſtant ſecurities for apparant dangers; wee have left our houſes in the City, where we might have liv'd ſafely, and gone to our loving friends at *Oxford*, that we might be undone quickly; we have been alwayes forward to receive the Cavaliers into our habitations, and they have been alwayes as forward to carry away that we had at parting. How many houſes, how many Townes, how many Cities, hovv many Counties have by our favouring that party, been brought to miſery; looke upon *Yorke* the fountaine of that River of calamity, that keepes ſtill the vvinding current through *Lincolnſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Darbiſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leceſter-ſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Barkſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*; (vvhere it hath ſo overflovvn, it has almoſt ſpoil'd the whole Countrey) from whence he runnes on in his Malignant courſe tovvard *Briſtow*, *Taunton*, and *Exeter*, and by the vvay conſider vvhat a multitude of people in all theſe parts have been guilty of their ovvn undoings, and therefore deſerve no pitty; but hovv many thouſands of Innocents (beſides) have they been the deſtruction of, for which they are to anſwer? Alas poor *York*, thou haſt ſuffered wonderfully in thy own perſon, thank thy Malignants; theſe unnaturall warres were firſt bred in thee, and now thou art like to be buried in them. Thou art full of Souldiers within, and begirt with Souldiers without, thou wer't the firſt City that raiſed them, and art like to be the firſt razed by them; how ever thy affrightments are great, and thy inward diſtractions no doubt are worſe then thy outward alarmes, who are our friends ſaies one, they that are our enemies ſaies another, who fights for us, they that fight againſt us, our enemies are within, and our friends are without, what ſhift ſhall we make to be conquer'd? wee periſh if we proſper; theſe are ſtrange words, and they muſt needs be ſtrange warres, when the City is in more danger by them that defend it, then by thoſe that raiſe Batteries againſt it.

When you have ſeen enough herein to make you ſorrowfull, conveigh your thoughts to *Redding*, there you ſhall finde all quiet enough now, (at leaſt in outward appearance) but the poore people have a warre ſtill within them, they grieve at their povertie, yet a number of them have gained by their loſſes, for humilitie's better then riches, there's a great deal leſſe pride

(now)

(now) then there was, and a great deale more repentance, but all the Country cries out, we are undone by't, and *Redding* muſt not onely beare his owne blame and loſſe, but be ſubiect to a perpetuall reproach for undoing his neighbours, this 'tis to be drunke with *Maligo*. Then ſurveigh *Briſtoll*, and conſider their bargaine, they have got the purchaſe they long'd for, and that ſome of their great ones (before) hang'd for, whoſe example could not fright the reſt out of their humours, but made them more eager in perſuit of the gaine and honour they dream't of; O how fearfull they were of being preſerv'd; many that had hardly praid of a moneth before, fell now to their devotions, with ſuch zeale, that God heard their prayers, granted their requeſts, and made 'em ſlaves and beggars: and now they have nothing to ſay, but that they are miſerable, and have deſerved it: But that that heightens their callamitie, is the proſperous condition of glorious *Gloceſter*, in whoſe ſtory they read ſuch fidelity, and valour, ſo much honeſtie and honour, that they are aſham'd to looke upon their owne.

But to make an end with Thee *Worceſter*, (that haſt taken a courſe to make an end of thy ſelfe) in former ages, a Citie, now (to thy owne people) a priſon; thou wer't wont to looke beautifully, be clad richly, fear daintily, and trade freely, now thou look'ſt ugly, goeſt beggerly, feareſt hardly, and liveſt ſlaviſhly; it ſeemes Obſtinacie hath ſo bewitch'd thee, that miſery and infamy are thy choice familiars; But 'tis pittie thou ſhouldeſt be ſuffered to periſh, though thou deſireſt it: no doubt the Parliament will conſider what thou haſt been, and be a meanes ſhortly to recover thee thy auncient Immunities, and make thee a Citie againe, whether thou wilt or no.

FINIS.

Number 22.

The Spie,

Communicating Intelligence

from Oxford.

From *Thurſday* the 20. of *June*, to *Tueſday* the 25. of the ſame.

SVnday is no Sabbath as yet with *Aulicus*; but he begins on that day as prophanely ſtill as ever. He tells that upon that day *June* 9. at *Morning Prayer in all the Churches and Chappells of the Univerſity and City of* Oxon, *was publiſhed a Paper ſubſcribed by the Lords of his Majeſties moſt honourable Privy-Councell, commanding all perſons whatſoever abiding and reſiding within that place, that according to a former Proclamation iſſued by his Majeſty, they ſhould provide ſufficient Corne and other Victualls, for three whole moneths for themſelves, and their Families reſpectively, on paine that whoſoever ſhould be found (upon ſtrict ſearch and examination) not to have conformed thereunto, ſhould be turned out of the Towne, as perſons inſenſible of their owne dangers, and the ſafety and ſecurity of the place. Which order* (he ſaith) *hath ſince found ſuch a cheerefull obedience by all ſorts of people, that if the Rebells* (ſo he dares ſtill to call them) *ſhould attempt to face the Towne againe as they did before; they will have as little hope to ſterve it, as they had to ſtorme it.* Whether their hopes were little or not without, certaine it is that their feares were great enough within, when *Beelzebubs* grand Agents, thought *Oxford* a place not ſtrong enough to ſecure his Majeſty for their farther ends, and therefore haſtened him ſo far Weſtward: As for ſtorming, tell thoſe rare *Cabinet-Incendiaries*, the Privy-Councell men, that the meaſure of their iniquities is not as yet filled up, that God, becauſe

cauſe of the ſins of the people, as yet permits them to breath miſchief and threats of ruine againſt them; and this *interſtitium*, this delay of vengeance, when the appointed time is come, will but adde to the fury of that ſtorme which ſhall be powred on them.

He tells us of a blow given by *Rupert* on the edge of *Lancaſhire*, and then to the eternall infamy of that bloudy-minded Atheiſt, he tells the ſtory of his matchleſſe cruelty upon the Garriſon of *Bolton* in that County; and ſaies that when he had aſſaulted the Towne and taken it by force, he put a thouſand and two hundred men to the ſword, and calls it *a juſt Act*; pretending that it was done, becauſe the Garriſon, when *Rupert* ſummoned the Towne, *incenſed him by hanging one of his Captaines in his ſight, who had been lately taken priſoner*. But we know *Ruperts* Horſe-leech diſpoſition well enough without any occaſion given, and that all the incenſing he had, was by the inſtigation of the Incendiaries of *Latham-houſe*, in recompence of the long ſiege continued againſt them.

But becauſe we ſhould not thinke, that among ſo many out-rages and cruelties there ſhould be no charity, he tells us of his Majeſties Proclamation of the ſecond of May, *for the incouragement and reliefe of ſuch ſouldiers as had been hurt, or maimed in his ſervice, declaring his intention of providing for them in ſuch Hoſpitalls and Almeshouſes, as are within his diſpoſing, as often as any places in the ſame ſhould become vacant; with many other clauſes for their eaſe and comfort.* But for the comfort of thoſe who venture their limbes in that deſperate unreasonable ſervice; I muſt tell them, that there are ſo few places of receite for them in that miſerable condition of wounds and ſickneſſe, that were there no other puniſhment after this life, that one condition of periſhing without remedy or pitty, might be called Hell upon earth. But for all this, *Aulicus* would have men to beleeve, that great proviſion is to be made for them in this deplorable eſtate, and tells them that *Pluto's* Privy-Councell, (which ſome call his Majeſties) becauſe few Hoſpitalls, and Almeſ-houſes are in his Majeſties poſſeſſion, have ſet out and printed an *Order* dated *June* the 8. in which it is.

Declared and ordained, that for the better ordering of ſuch ſouldiers, who were ſicke or maimed, there ſhould be a Governour or Over-ſeer appointed over them, who ſhould have power both to receive ſuch monies as were, or ſhould be raiſed for the reliefe of thoſe ſouldiers, (great ſumms no queſtion) *and to diſpoſe thereof according to their neceſſities, in paying of* Chirurgions, Nurſes, *and other Attendants: that as often as any*

any of the Souldiers were cured of their wounds, and were fit for Service, he ſhould retun their names unto the Governour of the City of Oxford, by whom they were to be ſent unto their ſeverall Colours; but if unfit for Service, then to returne their names unto the Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, *who is thereby appointed to commend them to the* Treaſurers *for the Counties in vvich they were borne, by them to bee releeved with annuall Penſions, according to their ſeverall merits and neceſsities: and finally that the* Vicechanceſſour *ſhould take order to appoint ſome Miniſter to* viſit *the* Sick *and vounded Priſoners, and read* Prayers *unto them.*

No matter for inſtruction, how *to die the death of righteos*: A meſſe of Commonprayer is in their eſteem, ſufficient to bring Soules to heaven, without any more ado. But would any men be ſo mad as to venture their limbes upon ſuch a trifling *Order* as this, made on purpoſe to delude them? The Governour of *Oxford* muſt returne their names to the *Iuſtice* of the ſeverall Counties where they were borne: ſuppoſe then that they were borne in ſuch Counties as are within the power of Parliament, What, muſt they ſtay for releefe till theſe *Treaſurers* can get monies thence? Well; and ſuppoſe that they were borne thoſe Counties within their power; Is it like that thoſe pilled, pillaged and plundered places ſhould afford any competent maintenance, who are hardly able to maintaine themſelves, by reaſon of thoſe exceeding preſſures whereto they have been ſubiect? This is indeed a very comfortable *Order*, and likely to draw many to their partee; or as *Aulicus* calls it *a ſeaſonable care*: But if you will know why, pray you marke here what followes.

For he tells us, that *His Majeſtie recruites apace, partly by the free and frequent comming in of His Loyall Subjects, from that and the ajdoyning Counties: partly on the occaſion of the Whole Garriſon at* Everſham, *which together with their Ordnance, Armes and Amunition, were withdrawn from thence by His Maiſtes eſpeciall Order; and partly by the addition of ſuch forces as did formerly remaine in Garriſon at* Teuke-bury. And yet all theſe broken parcels can make no great Number (it ſeemes) in the whole. Therefore *Aulicus* invites all thoſe that will come in, with the former Order, and hopes by that meanes to helpe his Majeſtie to a fuller recruiting, promiſing them yeerely Penſions out of their Counties if they chance to be maimed.

He confeſſeth the taking of Chudley caſtle by Sir *William Waller*: but he ſayes, the reaſon was, becauſe *the Souldiers being moſt of them preſſed men, taken out of the Countrey, and ſuch as had ne-*

ver ſeen the Wayres before, were ſo terrified with Sir Williams *Ordnance, the loſſe of their Gunner who was ſlaine, and the breaking out of their Ordnance, that their hands and hearts began to faile them, and cryed out upon the Governour to provide for their ſafety, and with great importunity mixed with violence, cauſed the Governour to yeeld up the Caſtle.* I would be loth to have a baſe pamphlet from *Oxford*, with a minted relation to leſſen the Glory of any action performed by that valiant Commander: I ſuppoſe, that may be a plauſable excuſe on their part for delivering it up; but it ſeems by *Aulicus* that the buſineſſe was carried with ſo much reſolution, as cauſed terrour; and therefore this may be reckoned amongſt his other trophees of deſerved honor.

Now to make amends for the loſſe of *Chudley* Caſtle (which is now a very conveniet *Neighbour* to *Gloceſter*) he tells of the taking of *Borſtall* Houſe, belonging to the Lady *Denham* by ſome Horſe and Foot ſent from *Oxford*, under the command of Colonell *Gage*: but it was ſurrendred upon condition good enough: yeelding only their victuall, Ammunition, and one peece of Ordinance, conditioned that they might go away with their Armes and Horſes, as *Aulicus* himſelfe confeſſes.

Upon the taking of this Houſe *Aulicus* boaſts how ſecure they are at *Oxford*, and tells us that they have well *Garriſon'd Borſtoll* Houſe under the Command of Major *Coningsby*: And withall that they have put into *Abbington* a Garriſon of one thouſand Foot, with five peeces of Ordnance; and that five hundred more are ſent to *Wallingford*, whereby he ſayes, the City of *Oxford* is *well flanker'd on all parts*; which whether it bee or not experince will be made ere long by that valiant Commander Sergeant-Major-Generall *Browne*.

He tells us that on *Friday* the 14. of *June*, *their faſt was kept in* Oxford, *according to his Maieſties Proclamation*; *and that the Biſhop* of Roſſe *preached at* Chriſt-Church *before the duke of* Yorke, *and the Lords of his Maieſties Privie-Counſell.* Now I muſt needs informe the Reader of what nature their faſt is there: It is a rare *Hotch-potch* of Medley performances: A Score of *Pater-Noſters*, Some Dozen of Anthemes, even to the hoarſeneſſe of the very Organ-pipes; and trebble repetition of *Letanies*, to the utter endangering of their Cathedrall Lung-pipes: Then certain praiers of *Duppa's* Invention, againſt Reformation, and the proſperity of the Goſpell, and the Armies raiſed in defence thereof under the name of Rebels

Rebells; All which, that it may be performed the more Popiſhly, is done according to the approbation of the Popes *Nuncio* at his being in *England*, with the moſt ceremonious ridiculous attendamce of Copes, Hoods, and Surplices: Adde to all this a Mock-Sermon at the latter end, ſuch a one as may be heard with pleaſure and content, even by the moſt Zealous Papiſts, and not above three quarters of an hour long at the moſt, for fear of overburdening the Patience of the multitude of more careleſſe Atheiſts; who are yet of opinion that this Savours of too great a ſtrictneſſe, and had rather a great deale be at home again with their wenches; Which kinde of converſation is uſually the concluſion of that dayes devotion.

Now to bring this profane Faſt of theirs into the better eſteeme with the world, as if the pureſt Devotion were expreſſed within the limits of their Popiſh Cathedrall, he ſtrives to diſgrace the Faſt ſolemnized by his Excellencie the Earle of *Eſſex*, upon *Wedneſday, May* 29. being the day wherein hee marched towards *Iſlip*; where he mockes at his having four Sermons one after another; and abuſes the Miniſters calling them *Lay-Mechanickes*, and that *one of the greateſt lights in the Congregation* (to make his jeſt good) *vvas a Tallow-Chandler*. But I need not ſpeak of that which is ſo common amongſt them; where worſe than *Tallow-Chandlers* have been, and are admitted into the Miniſtery.

He complaines againſt the Lord *Iohnſton*, becauſe he would not keepe touch with the Earles of *Craford* and *Montroſſe*, and other *Scottiſh* Lords, who had raiſed a partee for the King in the South of *Scotland*. The noble Family of the *Iohnſtons* had more reſpect to the engagement of Religion, and their owne honour, than to ſell their ancient reputation at ſo cheape a rate, as to purchaſe ſlavery to their Nation and poſterity, by ſerving the ill-governed pleaſure of a miſled Prince; or to gaine the applauſe and friendſhip of his Favourites, by ſiding with them to further their ambitious ends.

But what need have they of helpe from that Family, when ſuch feates are performed by *Montroſſe* without them? A Catalogue whereof are ſet downe by *Aulicus*, whereby he makes him a Conquerour as far as the *Tweed*, boaſting that he hath ſpoiled our Sea-coale Trade for the Winter following; and that he had withall ſeized much plunder, which 700 Horſe of his Countriemen were conveying hence into *Scotland*. *And diſtributed it among him own Souldiers, which came in for the Service of the King.* But if *Montroſſe* be ſo proſperous, why comes he not forward? Soft, there are Stumb-

Stumbling-Blocks in his way, and ſuch as may chance to break the necke of his Deſigne.

He is extreame angry with Sir *Iohn Meldrum*, and calls him old *Scottiſh Rebell*, for bringing ſome *Scots* into *Mancheſter*; *which*, hee ſaies, *is a deviliſh purpoſe in ſome, rather to make the whole Nation Slaves to the* Scots, *than that they ſhould returne to the obedience of their Lawfull King. To which purpoſe*, he ſayes, *the* Scots *have given forth, that they will ſend new Forces into England to purſue the plot, which he would have to be by the procurement and Sollicitation of the Earle of* Lannerick, *His Maieſties Secretary of Eſtate, for the Kingdome of* Scotland, *but are to be under the Command of the Lord of* Almond, *Who having formerly had the leading of the* Scots *at the paſſage of Newborn, was after made Earle of* Calender *by his Maieſtie, And therefore he* brands him with Ingratitude; and ſo is it in an *Oxford* ſence; but the time I hope will come, when his Majeſtie will give a better interpretation of his Subjects actions, than to call this Chriſtian-like brotherly aſſiſtance of theirs, a plot either againſt him, or our Nation. Now they have his Majeſtie in a Miſt, and things are repreſented to him in a fale glaſſe, as well as unto the the people; and therefore in the mean time they may make bold to raile, or ſay any thing, ſith there are many ſo mad ſtill as to beleeve them.

He tells us that they were advertiſed from *Wallingford*; that many of our ſick Souldiers who are left behinde in the Countrey, have *Paſſes* to conveigh them to *London*, which beare date at the Siege at *Oxford*; which he ſayes, was onely the Siege of *Goſworth*, and the mention of the *Siege at* Oxford *is but a ſtale tricke to abuſe the Citizens.* I ſuppoſe this Siege of *Goſworth* if he will have it called ſo, terrified them ſo ſufficiently in *Oxford*, that it may very well be called the Siege at *Oxford*: And if the environing of a Place ſo ſtraightly, that there was but littlee hope of Security left, be not a ſiege, why then did not His Majeſty venture to ſtay there? It is well knowne that it proved a ierrible Siege, to ſome mens Conſciences there: And it would have proved as great a loſſe to the *Spaniard*, as the taking of *Breda* was, if ſo be a Siege had been continued, and *Briſtoll*, and his Couſin *Cottington* with the reſt of the Penſioners, ſhould have been taken, and ſent to *Purgatory* with their *Spaniſh* Cloakes and Conſciences. Nay, and I wounder that *Aulicus* himſelfe ſhould ſhould be ſo impudent as to denie a beſeeging, when he himſelfe for a fortnight durſt not ſtirre abroad, nor take the Aire

with-

without the walls of *Oxford*: though now he intends to make an appearance againe to his friends in *London*, as long as he can, and Serjeant Major Generall *Browne* will permit.

Now for matter to belye us concerning our affaires at the Leaguer before *Yorke*, finding but little comfort of late, he is glad to run back to the second of *June*, the day upon which *Yorke* was ſtormed; and tells us that our ſeverall forces *every one attempting their part, were moſt gallantly repulſed by the Marqueſſe of New-caſtle; and that retiring in great confuſion, he ſallyed out upon them, killed and tooke* 1500. *of them, and brought away one piece of Cannon for a ſigne and trophie of victory.* Hereupon he deſires, that thoſe grand lyes printed the former weekes might be excuſed, becauſe he ſaies the relations ſent him were grounded upon this action: One of them was he ſaies, ſent from *Banbury*, touching the beating of the *Scots* from the ſiege at *Yorke*, and killing and taking thouſands of them: Another from *Newarke*, about the killing of 2000. *Scots* at a place called the *Ring-houſes*; in which Letters alſo it was certified, that the Earle of *Mancheſter* was ſlaine in that daies Action: Thus you ſee with what fictions they feed one another; and then *Aulicus* he takes the paines to print them with great confidence, that they may ſerve his turne for the preſent, and ſo he makes a double benefit of them, by making a recantation for them hereafter, when they are manifeſtly odious unto the world, which ſerves his turne alſo in ſcarcity of matter and Intelligence, to fill a competent part of his libellous and lying Pamphlet.

He tells us that *the Earle of Mancheſter dares venture as farre any man in the contrivance of a Treaſon: yet when it comes to execution, he hath ſo much wiſedome as to reſerve his perſon to ſome eaſier ſervice.* We can have no greater certainty to know where vertue reſides, than by the cauſeleſſe emulation of the wicked and malicious: They ſtrive alwaies to ſtaine the faireſt obſects of Piety: And it is one argument of the excellent integrity of that noble Earle, to be maligned and ill-ſpoken of by them.

The next thing which he falls upon is the taking of *Lever-poole* by *Rupert*; where he brags of the large booty which accrewed to his Majeſty: But he ſaies, that *the prize, though very great and ſeaſonable, was not of ſuch concernment as the place it ſelfe; becauſe by this meanes his Majeſty hath gotten a commodious Port, from whence to ſend for ſupplies to his Kingdome of* Ireland, *(oppoſite to which it lyeth) and to receive ſuch ſuccours by it as his Subjects of that Kingdome have provided for him. Aulicus* might have done very well to deliver

deliver his Maj ſties affaires in his owne language, and to have written his *good ſubjects of Ireland*; for ſuch onely now are the *Iriſh Rebells* whom he expects to come over. And let them come hither, that they may receive the ſcourge of vengeance due unto their ſinnes for all the bloud wherewith they drawne guilt upon their ſoules. I hope that as *Ireland* was the Scene of a bloody *Tragedy* to the Proteſtants, ſo *England* may be to them, if ever they arrive here.

The ſucceſſe of *Lime* (God be thanked) hath ſomewhat quailed *Anlicus* his confidence in lying; and therefore he lookes only aſquint at it, and ſayes that the towne is *made unſerviceable*: So are all things ever in their eſteeme, when they cannot either get or keep them.

Some flouriſhes he makes he makes towards the latter end, ſtriving to confute our weekly Pamphlets with contradictions contained in them: And at laſt he concludes with a Plea in the behalf of the vulgar Rabble, for Whitſon-Ales and Morris-Dancing and Maypoles, who he ſayes, have hearts full of ſorrow; becauſe they cannot enjoy thoſe things now in the *Whit-Son Week, which tended onely to the hazrad of a Double Iugge, and a Penny Cuſtard, and the making of a purſe to diſcharge the Taberer.* This clauſe (queſtionleſſe) was inſerted by the Biſhops, or ſome of the Prelaticall Clergie to ingratiate themſelves and their cauſe into the Acceptation of the more ignorant Sort; and beſides, now his Majeſtie is Recruiting, when they underſtand that he fights for ſuch glorious Parcels of the Proteſtant Religion, they cannot choſe but come in unto him, to helpe to defend theſe, and ſuch like ancient *Pagan* Cuſtomes, which are but as ſo many Preparatives to *Atheiſme*, or Popery.

Printed according to Order for *I. F.*

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THE LAND-TEMPEST: OR, A PAPER-PELLET;

Or, much in a Mouthfull; or, a long *Answer* To a short *Question*; Containing an *Abstract*, *Epitome*, or *Effects* of the woes of these Wars.

By (*W. P.*) a plunder'd Preacher in the County of GLOUCESTER.

Experta loquor.

June 25 1644

Difficile est invenire, facile est addere inventis.

—*Brevis esse laboro, Obscurus fio.*— } Some words are hard in this to understand,
Obscurus fio, Cur? quia, tam brevis esse laboro. } Because I haste with th'wars I have in hand.

No heart can think upon these things worthily; (for) *it is a Tempest, which no man can see*, Eccles. 16. 20, 21.
Come, and let us cast lots, that wee may know, for whose sake this evill is come upon us, Jon. 1. 7.

Question. *What is War?* } Answer. *It is a Tempest.*

BY musing on *Jonah's* Tempest on the sea, we may take occasion to meditate on our Tempest on the land. Yet great difference between that and our Tempest.

That was one-sinner-following, one ship-indangering, a Little-wares-losing, a few Mariners affrighting *Tem.*

But this Tempest astonisheth all our Land and Sea-Passengers, all our Sea-Sailers,

i. All our Parliament-Pilots, all the whole three kingdoms Inhabitants whatſoever.

That Tempeſt turned the cauſer into the belly of the Whale.

This will tumble the cauſers (without their converting) into the bottome of hell.

That is marvellous in our ears, this in our eyes.

That was great, grievous, horrid, hideous.

But this *Tempeſt*, one thouſand ſix hundred forty & three, is a far greater *Tempeſt*, then ever yet we did ſee.

Lawyers ſearch all their books touching the *Kings* Prerogative & the *Parliaments* priviledges

It is An All-Acts & ſtatutes-ſtrict-ſifting *Tempeſt*.

An Academick-altring *Temp.* changing an Act into artillery, arts into armes, pens into Pikes, Poſtils into Piſtols, Doctrines into Drums, Back-hoods into Buffe, ſquare-caps into round, gowns into Guns, Gooſquils into Gauntlets, books into bullets.

Head-pieces.

It is an Artiſt over-arting, an armor-ſhining, an armes-forſeeking, *i.* a George on horſe-back-ſatisfying *Temp.*

Half-Crowns.

A Letters-for-looking, *i.* a Mint-letter-meaning *Temp.*

Silver.

It is a Beer-brewing, a Beer-broaching, a Beer-wanting, a Beer-waſting, a Bread-begging, a Bed-abandoning, a Bullet-blowing, a Brain-beating, a Back-bruiſing, a Bone-breaking, a Body-wounding, a blood-brewing, a Blood-thirſting, a Blood-ſhewing, a Blood-ſhedding a Blood-ſhowring, a Building-unbeautifying, a Beauti-blemiſhing, a Bul-wark-rearing, a Breath-ſtopping *Tem.*

It is an Eye-bedewing, an Eye-ſoring, an Eye-dazling, an Eye-dimming, an Eare-dulling, an Eare-deafning, an Hand-off-chopping *Temp.*

It it an Ox-waiting, an Ox-wearying, an Ox-quick-drawing, an Ox-quite-away-driving *Tempeſt.*

It is an Horſe-hurrying, an Horſe-unhiring, an Horſe-houſing, an Horſe-hiding, a Horſe-catching, a Horſ-ſtealing, a Horſe-killing *Temp.*

It is a Carrier-croſſing, a Carrier-ceaſing, a Carrier-crying, a Carrier-curſing, a Broad-Cloth-coveting, a Cloth-carrying, a Cloth-renting, another mans-Cloth-wearing *Tem.*

It is a Linnen-looking, a Linnen-loving, a Linnen loading, a Linnen-loſing, a Linnen-lacking.

A Clothiers-diſ-imploying, a Clothiers-diſtreſſing, a Clothiers-much-cruſhing, a Clo-

thiers-attaching, a Clothiers-out-hunting *Tempeſt.*

It is a ſelfe-ſeeking, a ſelfe-ſoothing, a Neighbour-neglecting, a ſelfe-commending, another man-cenſuring, another man-ſlighting, another man-condemning, A blind Buzzards-nothing ſeeing, a crooked-Canker-worm-crawling

A Weapon-weilding, a Thunder-bolt-darting, a Watchman-blinding, a way-man-blending, a Pilgrime-wandring *Tempeſt.*

It is a Plaintifes-complaining, a Tide-turning, an Atturney-tormenting, a Term-unterming, a Criers-mouth-muzling, a Juſtice-out-juſtling, a Judge-diſrobing, a Jury unpanneling *Tempeſt.*

It is a Newes-enquiring, a Lie-broaching, a Day-ſtealing, a Theft-profeſſing, a Plunder-producing, a Pleaſure-down-pulling, a Browniſt-bewraying, an omniſcious-ignorance-tub-out-teaching, a Jeſuit-projecting, a Projects-purſuing, a Sectaries Sugar-ſweetning, a Papiſts embracing, a Pope-beſt-pleaſing *Tempeſt.*

It is a Wiſe-mans befooling, an After-wit-buying, a Wit-tenter-ſtretching, a Body and Mind-anatomizing, a Faſt-binding, a Few-friends-finding, a Feare-feeding, a Faith-wavering, a Conſcience-ſhipwracking *Tempeſt.*

It is a Love-baniſhing, a Peace-forbidding, a Friend-parting, a Foe-raiſing, a beaſt-butchering, a Sheep-ſlaughtering, a Father-killing, a Children-howling *Tempeſt.*

It is an Houſe-emptying, a Home-unhoming, a Head-hiding, a Head-cleaving, an Heart-aking, a hard-heart-relenting, a Flint-heart-opening, an Earth-groaning, a Maker-provoking, a Sleeper-ſummoning, a Soule-dutie-ſlackening, a Soul-ſadding *Tempeſt.*

It is a Flock-ſcattering, a Church-unpeopling, a Sinner affrighting, a Sin-ſcourging, a Tear-trickling, a Truth-trying, a From-truth-ſtraying, a Downe-truth-treading, a Prayer-for-praying, a Preacher-fearing, a Text-wreſting, a Preacher-tongue-tying, a Tell-troth-tongue-clipping *Tempeſt.*

Io. 1. 6.

When men ſay they are on the one ſide, when they are on the other.

I ſate up walking at *Lon Bridge* many, the whole night, (where Pr. *Rupert* then quartered) and there had liberty to tell the houres of the night. *Acts 27. 14.

It is a Clock-telling, a Print-employing, a Plate-melting, an All-metall-molting, an Hypocrites unmasking, a Powder-plotting, an **Euroclydontizing*, *i.* a quiet-ſayling-oppoſing *Tempeſt*, a Ship-toſſing, a Ship-tearing, *i.* a State-ſtaggering, a Realm-reeling, a Religion-unliganding *Tempeſt*.

It is a Jehovahs-great-wonders-working-by *Tempeſt*, making the Land like *Moſes* Buſh, burning and yet not conſumed, turning mens Inſides outward, fetching darkneſſe out of light for the preſent, and light out of darkneſſe for the future time; changing wine into water for preſent humiliation, and water into wine for future exultation.

Such Souldiers as folow the Camp only for eaſe, idleneſſe, pay, profit.

It is a London-coin-licking, a Leaden-hall unloading, a Blackwell-hall-mourning, a Lady-lap-leaving, a Lazie-bones-loving, a Friend-fare-well not bidding, a Feather-plucking, *i.* a naked-bare-making, a Faint-heart-complying, a Flatterers-non-gainſaying *Tempeſt*.

It is a well-known-unknowing, *i.* a Familiar-eſtranging, an unwelcome-welcoming, a Four-quarters-quartering, a Pool-dragging, a Well-diving, a Water-drinking, a worſe-deſerving, a Protection-unprotecting, *i.* a promiſe-not-performing *Tempeſt*.

It is a Leaders miſleading, a Day-darkening, a Night-enlightning, a Sun-clouding, a Moon-eclipſing, a Light-leſſening, a Darkneſſe-inducing, a danger-drawing, a Doubt-infolding, a Double-dealing, a Dearth-breeding, a Famine-forcing, a Death-deſiring, a Death-deſerving, a Death-bringing, a Death-worſting, *i.* a pain worſe then death cauſing *Tempeſt*.

It is a Calm-ſhunning, a Cannon-roring, a City-quelling, a Croſs-coveting, a God-Dammee-wiſhing, *i.* a Curſe-for-calling *Tempeſt*.

It is a Souldiers-ſword-ſelling, a Souldiers-ſolace-ſeeming, a Souldiers-certain-ſorrowing, a Souldiers-ſiune more ſinfully-ſinful-ſhewing *Tempeſt*.

It is a Captain-up-calling, Cowing, Conquering, a Colonell-conflicting, captiving, over-coming a

a King-Caring, fearing, fretting-flying *Tempeſt*.

It is a Biſhops-unhierarching, a Court-croſſing, a Countrey confounding, a Harlot-haunting, a Women-mourning, a Wife-raviſhing, a Widow-making, a Wo-working, a Wealth-waſting, a Harveſt-hindring, a Corn-conſuming *Tempeſt*.

It is a Lawyers-labyrinthing, a Schollers-unſchooling, a Land-lords-loſing, a Tenants-pooring, a Poore-famiſhing, a Plough-ſtaying, a Shop-ſhutting, a Tradeſmans-tyring, a Peer-apalling, a Parliament-puzling, a Priſon-ſtuffing, a Patience-proving *Tempeſt*.

It is a People-pillaging, a Poor-ſpoyling, a Rich-robbing, a Robbery-rejoycing, an Oaths-out-ratling, an againſt Round-heads all-railing *tempeſt*.

It is a Begger-boaſting, a Wilde-Boare-briſtling, a Rude, Reveling, Royſting, Ruffling, Rifling, *i.* a Ruffian-by over-ruling, a Slave-by over-maſtring *tempeſt*.

It is an All-Common-cauſing, an on-All-ſides-Ruing, a Debt-denying, a Law-down-laying, a Countrey-counſell-down-crying, a Nation-nulling, a Non-like-noyſing, a No-bound-limiting, a No-perſon-ſparing, a Non-ſuch-looked-for, an Antipodes-walking, *i.* an under-ground-working, a Liberty-reſtraining, a Ship-money-ſurpaſſing, an in Payments-all-away-paying, an Un-civill-civill-unnaturalizing *tempeſt*.

When the one Army at the ſiege mined, and the other counter-mined.

It is a Laodiceanlike-luke-warming, a Profeſſor-key-colding, a Holineſs-hooding, a Way-laying, a Hatred-hatching, a Miſchief-watching, a Malice-manifeſting, a Miſery-multiplying, a Mony-formining, a Member-maiming, a Manners-infecting, a Mercy-loathing, a Mirth-menacing, a Maid-deflowring, a Market-marring, a Mariners-amazing, a Miniſter-mocking, Miſ-uſing, Moving, a Men-dog-like-driving, a Men-madding, a Men-mowing, *i.* a Men-murthering *tempeſt*.

It is an After-times recording, an Actors-name-eternizing, a Weather-cock-like-winding, *i.* a Turn-coat-diſcovering, a Topſie-turvie-things-turning, a Publike-

Poſt-fixing, *i.* a Proditors-proclaiming *tempeſt.*

It is a Wild-fire-ſpetting, a Bloody-minded-ſporting, a Right-expelling, a Wrong-compelling, a Revenge-renewing, a Rapine-unregarding, a Reaſon-rejecting, a Reſt-refuſing, *i.* a ſleep-not-ſuffering, a Refuge-concealing, a Rock-rending, a Rod-reaching, a Sword-unſheathing *tempeſt.*

It is a Shepheard and Sheep, an Husband and Wife, an Head and Members, *i.* a Prince, and People-dividing *tempeſt.*

It is a malignantizing, *i.* an All-malignants-making *tempeſt.*

It is a Land-ſhaking, a Kingdome-qnaking, a Grief-laſting, a Gold-gaping, a Grave-filling, a Goſpel-gagging, a God-grieving, a Devill-delighting, a Diſeaſes-procuring, a Death-bell-tolling, an Alarum-to Judgement-ringing *tempeſt.*

It is a Forainers-mouth-watering, a Welch-mens-cauſe-weeeping, an Irelands-weakning, a Scotlands-warning, a New-Englands-condoling, an Old-Englands-deſtroying, an Heaven-daring, an Hel-haſtening, a Thunder-out-ſounding, a Tongue-unutterable, a Pen-inexpreſsable, an *All*-the worlds-wondering, an *All*-former-unparalleling, *i.* an *All-Tempeſt*-exceeding-*Tempeſt.*

The gr... teſt pa... the Ga... ſon at ... Heroine... nigh G... eaſter, ta... by Sir ... Waller, ... were ... Welſh...

Lector, Tu, ſi quid noviſti rectius iſtis,
Candidus imperti, ſi non, his utere mecum.

Kind Reader, if thou know'ſt,
How better to expreſſe,
Theſe preſent woes of wars,
In Proſe, or elſe in verſe;
Then ſhew thy wit and will,
Reveal the ſame to mee;
If that thou wilt not do,
Then take this help to thee.
Know that the truth of moſt,
In this Pellet-Paper,
Is knowingly known,
To this preſent Relater.

WOrds are but wind. Ob.

But this is ſuch a tempeſtuous wind that hath overturned many trees, turrets, towers, walls, houſes, men and beaſts; and yet it rageth ſtill. Sol.

No man knowing when the calme will be. Jon. 1.

The Marriners have rowed hard to bring the Ship to land, but it cannot be: for the Sea worketh, and is tempeſtuous againſt them. Verſ. 13.

The greateſt part of the wares in the Ship are caſt into the Sea, to lighten the Ship; but this tempeſt is ſo mighty ſtill, that the ſhip is like to be broken. Verſ. 5.

VVee know, that for ſome Jonah's ſake, this tempeſt is ſtill upon us; O Lord think on us, that we periſh not. Verſ. 12.

O that the many Jonah's of Ignorance, Atheiſme, prophaneneſs, Popery, Faction, Neutrality, Ambodexteriſme, were commanded to be caſt over-board, that the calm might be as great as is yet the ſtorm.

That all men, in ſigne of thankfulneſs, might learn to know, feare, love, and ſerve that Man-God, whom winds and waves, men and devils, heaven and earth do obey. Mat. 8. 26.

Surge Domine, Impera Ventis & Mari;
Talem Tranquillitatem Da, Domine, Verſ. 26.
Amen.

This is Printed according to Order.

Printed for *Nicholas Vavaſour*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in the Inner Temple, 1644.

14

Numb. 60.

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent miſ-information.

From *Tueſday* the 18. of *June*, to *Tueſday* the 25. of *June*. 1644.

IN my laſt weekes *Intelligence*, I gave you, in briefe, ſome particulars concerning the *Treaty* at *York*; wherein I was then defective, I ſhall now ſupply: Firſt, concerning the perſons appointed to Treate; Sir *William Wentworth* (brother to the Earle of *Strafford*) and *Robert Rockley* Eſquire, were both of them omitted in my laſt *Relation*; and for the Scottiſh Army, the Lord *Humbey* was omitted: They met on the nineteenth day of *June*, at a *Tent* pitched in the midway between a *Fort* of theirs and ours, each party attended with a proportionable guard ſtanding at a diſtance; one Secretary being admitted by each party to the Treaty; the *Commiſſioners* from the enemy propounded Articles, but would not ſuffer our Commiſſioners to read them; but the *Commiſſioners* for the beſiegers offered their Propoſitions in writing, and that they ſhould carry them to their *Generall* and conſider of them. The enemies *Commiſſioners* did proudly refuſe the Paper, ſo the *Treaty* broake off, yet ſo tender were the beſiegers of ſhedding blood, that they ſent thoſe Propoſitions by a *Trumpet* to the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, who returned this anſwer, that neither he himſelfe, nor any man of honour could diſcend to any one of them.

The Propoſitions offered by the three Generalls, were to this purpoſe.

1. *That upon the delivery up of* Yorke, *with the Ordnance, Armes, &c. every Common Souldier ſhould march away with their ſwords, and their own cloathes, and their own money not exceeding 14. dayes pay, and to promiſe hereafter not to take up Armes, a-*gainſt the Parliament, and Proteſtant Religion.

2. *That the Citizens and inhabitants ſhall have their houſes and goods ſecured from violence, and ſhall have free commerce as before.*

3. *That the Officers of quality ſhall depart with ſwords, and horſes, and money, not exceeding a moneths meanes for every ſeverall Officer.*

4. *That the Gentry in* Yorke, *may go to their own homes and be protected from violence.*

5. *That any Officer that deſires to go beyond Sea may have a paſſe, provided they ſerve not againſt the Parliament and Proteſtant* Religion.

6. *That no forces ſhall be quartered in* York, *but ſuch as ſhall be deſigned for the Garriſon.*

The demands which the enemy made, were: That all Commanders and Souldiers ſhould march away to the King, with Ordnance, Armes, money, Plate, bag, and baggage, Colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted.

That the Churches and all &c. belonging unto them ſhould be protected from violence or defacing, and that the Common prayer ſhould be allowed to be uſed in them.

That they ſhould have 20. dayes time to expect ſuccour from P. *Rupert.*

The *Treaty* continuing the 14. and 15. broke off the 15. of *June*, and that night, in the evening: the enemie made a great fire on the top of the *Minſter*, which was anſwered at *Pomfreit*, and ſo in *Lancaſhire*; what ſigne Prince *Rupert* was to take by it, I know not, for if it were to call him in, he is far enough from it, having ſent a great part of his ſtrength over the river *Mercy* the 13. of this moneth into *Cheſhire*, with the loſſe of ſixty men and one of his greateſt pieces of Ordnance.

Saturday June 23. news came to Town that the Earle of *Manchester* had loſt 200. men, by too timely ſpringing his Myne; before I come to the end I hope to give you the particular Relation of it: But I obſerve this by the way, what quick intelligence our Malignants have, for from *Wed-*

neſday

neſday laſt have they run from Priſon to Priſon, and place to place, informing, the Earle of *Mancheſter* had received a blow; but indeed they enlarged it, that he himſelfe was hurt, his forces routed, the ſiege at *York* raiſed, and Prince *Rupert* come to *York*, and this they averred with oaths and execrations.

The confidence of this newes was ſuch, that when they were anſwered, The ſiege at *Lime* was raiſed, *Weimouth*, and *Melcombe Regis* was loſt, and that therein was taken the Kings principall Magazine for the Weſt: They ſaid, This was a flea-biting to that of *York*.

Now this flea-biting was no more, but the loſſe of foure-ſcore piece of Ordnance mounted in the Town, and Ships: one hundred and eighty, ſome write 200. barrels of powder, 2000. good Muskets, 200. paire of Piſtols, 60. Sail of Ships, beſides the Town of *Weimouth*, Forts, and Caſtle of *Sandfoote*; many ſuch flea-bitings may the enemy have: You ſhall before I end have a further Relation concerning the Weſt.

A word or two for home Intelligence: It may well bee conjectured things are not rightly carried on the enemies ſide, when they drop away ſo faſt: The Earle of *Kenoule*, a Scotch Lord, Captain of the Kings guard (Voted formerly an Incendiary by Parliament, about a Letter he ſubſcribed in *Lancaſhire* to her Majeſty) is one that is lately come into the protection of the Parliament: alſo Sir *James Hay*, her Majeſties ſervant, is likewiſe come: They brought nine good horſes with them, which came ſeaſonably to be imployed to viſit his Majeſties roving Army, the other day at *Beadley* in *Gloceſterſhire*, and to day neere *Newport Panell* in *Buckinghamſhire*: They are beſtowed on Major Generall *Brown* for that ſervice: Of which, more anon.

Sergeant *Glanvile*, an aſſiſtant of the Lords houſe, till his breaking himſelfe to the ſervice of the enemy, made him uncapable

capable of that honour, is likewiſe come to Town, and ſubmits himſelfe to the mercy of the Parliament: It i ſaid, hee comes with as much ſorrow for his being miſled, as any that have come in have expreſſed.

There is a perſonage of great place (an Earle) that hath deſerted his Majeſties ſervice, and is come into the quarrers of the Parliament, deſiring to be no longer under the protection of the Cavaliers, whoſe wayes he ſees are crooked, and perverſe.

I muſt rectifie one miſtake in my laſt, concerning the Earle of *Calendars* being come in with 10000. men, which ſince I am informed, was an information not well grounded; yet notwithſtanding he is come, though not ſo far into England, with the ſaid number, and both houſes have lately paſſed a Vote for his encouragement; and the rather, that ſupplementall ayde is the more deſired, becauſe the ſiege before *York* may yet continue ſome weekes, the enemy it ſeems reſolving to diſpute it by Inches, and therefore this additionall ayde will be neceſſarily required ro reduce *Newcaſtle*, which needed not, if *York* could have been taken ſo ſoon as was expected.

If there were any other miſtake, if I knew acknowledgement would give ſatisfaction, I ſhould readily do it.

By Letters of the 20. of *June*, it is cettified thus, concerning that paſſage of the *Earle* of *Mancheſters* before *Yorke*, that his Souldiers ſprung the *Mine* (upon ſome ſudden reſolution taken) which wrought as was expected, and blew up Saint *Maries* Tower, and 100. of the *Cavaliers* in it, which ſo aſtoniſhed the Souldiers, that the reſt without the walls, threw down their Armes, and run into the City, this ſo encouraged our men, that 300. of the 600. that were on that guard; purſued the enemy and entered the City, and did great execution on them; there falling at the firſt charge, of the enemies ſide, Sir *Philip Byron*, Coll. *Hudleſton*, a great man in *Cumberland*, and

and Lieutenant Colonell *Brery*, Captain *Mackarthy* an Irish Rebell, and divers other Commanders and persons of quality, as some of the Citizens of *Yorke* that have since escaped do confesse: And say further, that had not the Trained Bands of the City stood to it more manfully, then the Common Souldier, those 300. fought so bravely, that in all likelihood they had driven the enemy to a great strait: If the two other Armies had had notice of the Earle of *Manchesters* Souldiers intentions, in all likelihood the City had been carried at that bout: Major *Hambleton*, and about 170. Common Souldiers were taken prisoners, about 40. slain, and wounded; the other hundred made good a retreate to the breach till a reserve came up, and keep it still, which makes them ill neighbours the one to the other, exchanging bullets hourly at a small distance: It hath made this resolution in the Common Souldier, to be very strict in conditions if ever they Treat again, never to condiscend to any conditions, but quarter for life, if that.

The Siege is so far from being raised, as the Malignants would have it, that they keep every inch of ground they have ever yet got, and yet have spared 8000. foot to march to the 5000. horse, and Dragoones, and 2000. foot, that are quartered about *Bradford*, *Oatley*, and *Keighley*, waiting Prince *Ruperts* motion, who together with Coll. *Gorings* horse, was on the 21. of this moneth on his march from the further parts of *Lancashire*, into *Craven*, through which craggy, and mountainous place, he intends to march for *Yorke*: and as he ascends from the Vales to the hills, he must expect to be encounterd.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Major Generall *Lesley* lie in wait for him, and Coll. Sir *John Meldrum* will not with some thousands of foot, be far behinde in the Rear, unlesse those forces *Rupert* hath sent over the river into *Cheshire*, be a hindrance to his advance; the 20. of this moneth *Rupert* quar-

vered at *Clitheroe*, ſome of his forces at *Blakebourne*, if he does come into thoſe uneven paſſages in *Craven*, he muſt fight luſtily or he will hardly eſcape.

Monday the 24. of *June*, Letters are come to Town, dated at *Sunderland* that day ſeven night, which ſignifies from a good hand, that a weeke before the date of that Letter, the Earle of *Calander* had entred England, and by another of the ſame date, ſignified that he would be within 24. hours within ſix mile of *Newcaſtle*, and that Colonell *Charles Fairfax*, Colle *Welden*, and Colonell *Bethell* with three Regiments of horſe beſides foot and Dragoons were come to *Durham*, and *Mon-troſſe*, and *Ogley*, and *Clavering* were retreated to *Newcaſtle*.

A few dayes will determine the Martiall affaires in the North if theſe forces meet; for whoſoever gets the better in the field, will gaine or looſe *Yorke*: therefore *Rupert* had beſt play his game well, for all his fortunes (which the Iriſh Rebels intend for him) depend upon his ſucceſſe in this buſineſſe.

It is to be wondred that his Majeſty ſeeing the North in this hazardous condition, and the Weſt in a worſe condition, as in relation to his affairs, ſhould neither goe in perſon, nor power to help either part of the Kingdom, but ride a *Hunting*, march from *Oxford* to *Eveſham*, then to *Worceſter*, then to *Kiddermaſter*, then to *Beudley*, backe againe to *Eveſham*, and rouſes the Mayor, and Magiſtrates out of their beds, and compells them to *Oxford* for receiving Sir *William Waller*, then his Majeſty bends his courſe to *Witney*, as if he intended to ſave *Briſtoll*, which 800. men that are in it cannot long keep: Then he turnes back to *Burford*, then towards *Ailesbury*, and laſt of all is lodged in *Bedfordſhire* in *Hackley* in the Hole, which place his Majeſty paſſed by with his forces laſt Lords day, plundered *Leighton*, and by this is in *Bedford*, it ſeemes a reſo-

reſolution is taken that no one part of the Kingdom ſhall eſcape the ſword if the blood thirſty Cavaliers can have their will.

It concerns the Aſſociated Counties to look to themſelves, and to riſe as one man to oppoſe theſe Robbers; for which purpoſe, courſe is already taken to draw to a place of Rendezvous the ſeverall forces in theſe parts, which will put his Majeſty to a ſtand, untill Sir *William Waller* fall on the reare, who is marching over Broadway hils, and will not be long ere he come up: which if he do with expedition, the Cavaliers may be hard put to it before they can make a retreate out of thoſe incloſed Counties: All the feare is, the Cavaliers will not adventure far enough, for they ſhall finde the Iriſh buſineſſe hath taken off the edge of thoſe they did account their friends, and therefore will not be ſo ready to appeare for them, it being the faſhion of the Kings party, to engage their friends, and then leave them in the lurch, to be at the mercy of the Parliament for life and Eſtate: As at *Chicheſter*, and afterwards at *Arundell*: It brought in brave Sequeſtrations to the Parliament; and therefore you Malignants in the Aſſociated Counties, that reade this, take heed how you appeare for the enemy.

Major Generall *Browne* commands the forces that go out of the City: *Hartfordſhire* have their men in readineſſe already: other Counties are about the work: *Northampton*, *Warwick*, and *Leiceſter* contribute a proportionable ſtrength: one thouſand horſe and dragoones of the Earl of *Mancheſters* in *Lincolnſhire* are to draw up this way. Thoſe and the other forces deſigned for this ſervice will make 14000. at leaſt and his Majeſty hath not above 6000. horſe and foote at moſt, ſome Malignants ſay 8000. and Sir *William Waller* being

mg on the Reare with 10000. at leaſt, will in all humane probability, diſſipate this threatening Cloud.

My Lord Generall follows his work in the Weſt, and is advanced towards her Majeſty, if ſome garriſon make him not ſtop a little: The Country ſo freely come in to him, as it is little to be feared that he will finde much oppoſition.

At *Plimouth* the Townſmen ſallyed out, and took Maſter *Arundell*, a member of the houſe of Commons, and 20. horſe with him, and 50. at another time: Colonell *Carr* their Governour is by this time in the Field: Skellum *Greenvile* not being able to make 2000. horſe and foote in all Cornwall, and as ſoon as my Lord Generall comes neare thoſe parts, and my Lord *Roberts* ſet once footing with a ſmall Brigade in that County, you ſhall then know another account of the temper of the Corniſh; you will ſee they will tell you they have been deluded; they never intended to fight for the Iriſh Rebels, nor the popiſh Religion.

Every houre newes is expected from his Excellency, either from before *Exeter* or *Briſtoll*.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

The Weekly Account.

Num. 43

June. 25.

Containing,

Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages From both Houses of Parliament, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

A true Relation of the Kings returning to Oxford, *and advancing from thence thorough the County of* Buckingham *into* Hartfordshire, *and what places he passed thorough with an Army of some strength.*

What designe the Kings forces are going upon: The Committee of both Kingdomes meeting about this businesse. The Harfordshire *men gathering to a Rendezvous to oppose his Majesty. Major Generall* Brownes *Orders to march with sufficient strength, to joyne with those Forces.*

The last newes from the Lord Generall, and a Letter from the Leaguer before York, *setting forth the manner of the besiegers springing a Mine; and their killing one Collonel, one Lieutenant Collonel, one Captain, with many others of the Enemy; with the losse that we received, and the continuing of the Siege. Together with the burning down of* Brompton *Castle, by the kings forces*

From Tuesday the 18. *of* June, *to Tuesday the* 25. *of the same.* 1644.

Published according to Order; for fuller satisfaction.

London, Printed by *Bernard Alsop.*

Tuesday the 18. *of June.*

Shall begin this Weeks Account, with a Letter from *Basing-stoke*, which came to my hands, brought from thence by a Gentleman which came to *London* with Collonel *Ioues* the Governour of *Farnham* Castle, and followeth in these words;

Viz.

Sir,

I Shall endeavour to give you a briefe Relation of the most observable things that have happened amongst us since our comming hither; For after the defeat given to the Enemy when they fell upon our Quarters at *Odiam*, they began to force Yeomens Ioanes and others which lived thereabouts, into *Basing* house,

and went out with a party of Horſe, to gather in the money which was aſſeſſed upon the County; but their purpoſes were quickly prevented by us, by drawing our forces hither, where they were preſſing of men the night before we entred the Towne: and hearing that a party of their Horſe were gone towards Redding way, about fifty of our horſe and twenty Muſketiers behind them were ſent after, and purſued them to a Bridge, which was broken downe by our men, but ſo cowardly were they, that they took the water rather then to fight, where we found nine of their horſes ſtuck in the mud, but the men eſcaped away. And about three or four dayes after, another party of ours being abroad, we were told by the Country people, that about thirty of the Enemies Horſe were gone towards the Vine, and haſtening after them, met with them in a Heath, and when they diſcovered us, they made a ſtand and drew up into a Body, but perceiving that we were minded to charge them, they wheeled about, and fled as faſt as they could from us: and as we purſued after, one came riding back from them unto us, ſaying, that he was one of our ſide, and had been taken that morning by them: but at the firſt we were doubtfull of it, thinking that knowing himſelfe badly horſed, and ſo in danger to be taken, he uſed this policy to eſcape, which cauſed us to keep him priſoner till he was known, which was not long, for he was an Officer of our ſide which was careleſly out of his Quarters, and by the Enemies ſudden feare was thus reſcued from them.

Colonel *Norton* hearing that a party of the Kings appeared about Andover, marched thither with all his Regiment of horſe, about a Week ſince, and is not yet returned, but expected daily, and in the meane time, four Companies of Collonell *Anſlowes* Regiment, are quartered in this Town, three Companies of Collonel *Iones* his men at Odiam, and two Companies are quartered in a great Houſe on the Eaſt ſide. So that keeping our quarters near unto the Houſe, they are kept from Scouting out to fetch in money and ſpoile the Countrey as they formerly did: We hear that they want men in the Houſe, and that there is not above two hundred in it.

Baſing ſtoke, Iune 15. 1644.

This

This day was brought priſoner from Rocheſter to London, one of Collonel *Roydons* Sonnes (his Father being Governour of Baſing Houſe, and one of his brothers a Captain in the Kings Army) he makes himſelf a great ſtranger in England, and pretends that he was a Merchant or Factor (it may be to ſend Arms to his Father) in Forraign parts; yet when he came over, could finde the next way to Baſing Houſe before he came to London, and as he ſaith, was going now for Spain. So he was committed to cuſtody, till further Examination.

Wednesday.

This week arrived at London ſoure Ships laden with Cheſhire Cheeſe, which came from Liverpoole; one of them is a Yarmouth Ship, which was taken by the Earle of Malboroughs Pynats at Sea, and being in part new mann'd, and a Captain and Maſter ſet over her, ſhe was deſigned to lye as a Scout, about three Leagues from other of their Ships, to ſtop any paſſage by Sea to or from Liverpoole, while it was in the Parliaments command. The firſt Maſter of the Ship, with the help of the Gunner, ſeized upon the Armes and Ammunition in the Ship, ruſhed ſuddainly into the Captains Cabbin, took him and the Maſter, and having bound them, moſt of the Soldiers declaring themſelves for the Parliament, did helpe to weigh Anker, hoyſed ſaile, put in at Liverpoole, and is now ſafely come with proviſion to London.

Yong *Authus* ſaith, that when his Majeſty was in the County of Worceſter, he began to recruit his Forces, and as a principall addition mentions the Garriſon at Tewkesbury, and yet confeſſeth that Towne to be taken by Collonel *Maſſey*, with twenty Barrels of powder, three hundred Pikes, &c. A good addition ſurely, and will adde to his Majeſties Forces when they fall upon their rear or flank, if they march Weſtwards near Glouceſter. And upon this recruit, we received this day certain Intelligence, that his Majeſtie was gotten back again towards Oxford, but we know not of any additionall Forces, except they ſpring out of the Aſhes of the Houſes which his Cavalry burnt as they came back at Worceſter, or from under the Bridges at Parſhaw and Evesham, which they cut off, for feare of Sir *William Waller* purſuing after them.

But it may be *Aulicus* meant that theſe royall Forces were recruited with plundering and robbing, for when they were upon their countermarch, perceiving that a great number of well-affected perſons (notwithſtanding the miſerable hard preſſures and taxes that they had long continued under) did bring in a ſupply of money and other neceſſaries to Sir *William Waller*) Warrants were iſſued by His Majeſties Generall, to plunder them, and not to leave them a piece of bread, or ſo much as a wrag to wrap about their finger, and divers Parties of Horſe were imployed as they marched to put theſe warrants in execution, which was done with as much rigour and cruelty as may be.

Thurſday.

By Letters this day from the Leaguer before York, it was certified that ſince the Beſiegers had taken the great Fort and other places of advantage, they had daily plaid with their Ordnance into the City. That the late Treaty was broken off, and that they were ſtorming the City, and undermining ſome of their Workes.

That Lieutenant Generall *Leſley*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Collonel *Cromwell*, were gone with ſix thouſand horſe into Lancaſhire againſt Prince *Rupert*. And we were this day further informed by Letters from Sir *William Waller*, dated Eveſham the 17. inſtant, that he was purſuing after the Kings Forces, and in regard he had Intelligence, that when his Majeſty was at Whitney his purpoſe was to wheele towards the Weſt, he was that day intended to march to Parſhaw; that the Earle of Denbigh, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and Collonel *Mitton*, were marched forwards to Newport in Shropſhire, and intended to bend their courſe to joyn with Lieutenant Generall *Leſley* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* againſt Prince *Rupert*, which if they can effect, and Prince *Rupert* ſtay there, though *Aulicus* boaſts that his Army is much increaſed by the Countries comming in to him, he will ſay (if he ſhould receive a defeat) of them as he doth of their Garriſon at Shudley Caſtle, that moſt of them were preſt men, and would not fight againſt the Parliament.

Friday.

The laſt Week I made mention of the Lord Generals relieving of *Lyme*, and of his moving towards Weymouth, and by Letters this day from his Excellency which were read in the Houſe, dated *June* the 20. he informed them, that Weymouth was ſurrendred into him upon Quarter, and the conditions agreed upon, we are informed were to this effect.

1. *That the Officers ſhould march away with their Horſe, Swords, Piſtols, and Portmantles.*

2. *That they ſhould leave behinde them all the Ordnance, Armes, Powder, Match, and Ammunition whatſoever, that was in the Towne.*

3. *That the common Soldiers, ſhould march forth onely with Staves in their hands, and depart to their owne homes.*

4. That

4. *That a ſafe conduct ſhould be granted them for three dayes.*

His Excellency entring in the town, found great ſtore of all ſorts of Proviſion, and in the town and Harbour, about a hundred Peeces of Ordnance two thouſand Armes, a hundred Barrels of Powder at the firſt, and about a hundred more the next day, with above ſixty ſaile of Ships (great and ſmall) that were in the Harbour.

He further ſignified, that he had ſent out ſeverall parties of Horſe, to ſummon Portland Caſtle (whither (it is ſaid) *Aſhburnham* the late Governour of Weymouth is fled) Corfe Caſtle, and Warum, of all which places there is great hopes that they wilbe ſpeedily reduced to the obedience of the King and Parliament.

This Week the Ordinance for the new Exciſe, &c Was again read in the Houſe, and for the better livelihood of ſuch Soldiers as are or ſhall be wounded or maimed in the Parliaments ſervice, or their Wives, and Children, in caſe their husbands are taken away. It is ordered, that two hundred pound *per* Week, ſhall be imployed to theſe uſes, &c.

Divers Vintners of London, which for ſome time were in cuſtody for the Arreares of the 1. d. and 2. d a quart, which was impoſed upon Wines by a late Pattent from his Majeſty, and was thereby due to the State (for which *Abel* and *Kilvert* were heretofore queſtioned) were ordered to bee diſcharged.

Many Rennegadoes came to London to make their Peace with the Parliament, *viz.* The Lord *Connoule*, Sir *James Hay*, and Sergeant *Glanvill*, who have turned with a Weſterne winde, for when the Kings forces were prevalent in thoſe parts, then the Vane turned with them to Oxford; and now the Parliaments forces have obtained the better, they procure a paſſe to come for London.

This Evening Major Generall *Browne* marched out of London with three Regiments of Auxiliaries, they quartered this night about *Hamerſmith*, within four miles of London, and ſo are to march toward Wickam, to joyne with the forces of the aſſociated Counties of Buckingham, Berks, &c. of whoſe valourous exploits, you may expect to heare very ſhortly.

It is farther certified from his Excellency, that Portland is ſurrounded both by Sea and Land, and alſo that the Enemy hath quitted Taunton Deane, And that his Excellency letteth ſlip no opportunity that is advantagious to himſelfe, or obnoxious to the Enemy, wherefore he hath ſent out ſeverall parties of his Army to Dartmouth, Warum, and other Garriſons of the Enemy, which no doubt will ſuddainly be ſurrendred to them: It is ſuppoſed his next deſigne will be for Exeter upon the report of which (as ſome ſay) her Majeſty hath removed from thence, and is journeying towards Briſtoll.

The Houſe of Commons having received certaine information, from the Scots Commiſſioners, that tenne thouſand more Scots, were already come unto the borders of England, under the command of the Earle of *Calender*; the Houſe drew up an ordinance for the bringing of them in for the better reduceing of the Northern parts; which was this day read in the Houſe, and ſent by a Meſſage upto the Lords for their concurrence.

Another Ordinance for the Aſſociating of *Cornwall*, *Somerſet*, and *Deuon*, was alſo ſent up to the Lords for their concurrence.

It is certified that Sir *William Waller*, was come to Stowe the Old, and reported that the Queene was gone from *Exeter*, towards *Briſtol*, where it is thought ſhe is by this time, and that *Prince Maurice* will quitt the City, having ſent part of their proviſion, and Amunition before to *Briſtoll*, which is the more probable, becauſe of the ſmall ſtrength which was in *Briſtoll*. It being affirmed by thoſe which came from thence within this foureteen dayes, that there were not 700. ſouldiers in the City, neither can *Hopton* with all his pollicy, get an Army in thoſe parts; but his preſſing proves advantagious to the Lord Generall, and hath been a meanes to draw together ſeaven or eight thouſand men (as it is reported) in *Somerſetſhire*, to joyne with his Excellency at his approach thither.

There was this day an Order agreed upon by the Commons, that Lord *Liſle* ſhould be allowed 1000 pound out of the Vintners compoſition, upon account for the Iriſh ſervice.

It was ordred likewiſe that the Lord *Grey* in Leiceſterſhire, ſhould have 100 caſe of Piſtols, and 200 Carbines ſent into his aſſociation, as was deſired by him.

By thoſe that came this day from Weymouth it was certified, that the Lord Generall was there on Tuſeday laſt, but was about to move from thence; what his next deſigne would be, was not certainely knowne. That he had put a party of foot into the Iſle of Portland to ſummon the Caſtle for the Parliaments ſervice, unto which place Aſhburneham had conveyed about 200 Iriſh Rebells that were in Weymouth before the Towne was ſurrendred. It ſeemes he was more tender of preſerving them from the furie of the Parliaments ſouldiers then the Engliſh.

By Letters from Plimouth it is certified, that on Friday the 14

of

of Iune, their Governour Colonell *Car*, ſent from the Parliament, ſafely arrived there, and was with very great expreſſions of love, and joy, entertained by the garriſon and whole Town. That, that day the Garriſon ſent out a party that ſurpriſed 150 of the enemies horſe, and brought them ſafe into Plimouth, that a little before Mr *Arundell* ſon to the Governor of Pendennis Caſtle, was taken priſoner, and brought into Plimouth. And at another time they ſent out a party of about 60 horſe, that charged another party of 200 of the enemies, and brought away 40 of them priſoners into Plimouth.

The King we heare is about to remove from Oxford but not well reſolved which way to take, the Weſt he aimes at and would gladly joyne with Pr. *Maurice* a little to diſturbe the L. Generals proceedings. His good Nephew the bloody Prince, for ought we heare, is yet in Lancaſhire exerciſing his bloody cruelty on the naked country men, which he likes better then fighting.

From the Leager at York we have certaine news this day, that the Earle of *Leven*, the L. *Fairfax*, and the E. of *Mancheſter*, and the reſt of the beſeigers have ſprung a Mine neere to the Mannor Houſe; and that our forces very reſolutely entred within the Enemies works, but having countermined and planted their Ordnance to ſcoure the paſſage, the beſeigers were put to a retreat with ſome loſſe; but the ſeige doth ſtill continue.

On the laſt Sabboth day about noone, Letters came from Collonel *Martin* Governour of Alisbury, certifying that his Majeſtie had drawne his Forces out of Oxford, which being ioyned with the Horſe which he brought backe with him, are thought to make an Army of ſome ſtrength, with which his Maieſtie was marching towards Alisbury; Vpon which tidings the Committee of both Kingdomes met this afternoon, for the giving Order for the ioyning together of our Forces, to prevent their falling into the aſſociated Counties, and that Sir *William Waller* (being purſuing after them) might be ready to relieve Alisbury, if any attempt ſhould be made againſt it.

I was alſo certified by Letters out of Kent; that Sir *Edward Dering* fell ſicke at his Houſe there, and died yeſterday morning.

Munday.

The copie of a Letter from the Leaguer at York, dated the Seaventeenth of this inſtant, to a Gentleman of quality in London.

SIr yeaſterday there happend with us the moſt conſiderable buſineſſe which hath been ſince our Seige, which was in this manner. Three ſeverall Mines were appointed to be ſprung this day, and at the ſame time when theſe Mines were ſprung, it was agreed that the City ſhould be ſtormed on all ſides, but before the time agreed upon for falling on in all, the Earle of Manchesters men ſprung their Mine, forced their paſſage through the Enemies works, and did brave execution on them in the Towne; Inſomuch that many of the common ſouldiers, threw downe their Armes, and cryed for quarter, but the Trained bands of the city fought very courtagiouſly, and having freſh ſupplies, by drawing their maine forces againſt this place, when they perceaved that no entrance was made at any other place, our men were forced to retreate, and about 200 of them ſlaine and taken priſoners; what the whole loſſe of the Enemy was, we are uncertaine, but, Colonell *Hurlſtone*, Captaine *Mackworth* an Iriſhman, and Lieutenant Col: *Berry* were ſlaine; we alſo tooke ſome priſoners, and killed and wounded many of their men and have made good the breach. This morning order was given for the drawing out of 7000 foot of the Scots, to march to the horſe, and joyne with them, who are gone into Lancaſhire againſt Pr. Rupert.

From the Leaguer at Yorke, this 17 of Iune, 1644.

We were this day further certified that the King left *Ailsbury*, and marched to Stony Stratford, and from thence to Woburne to the Lords houſe of Bedford; but in the way they tooke occaſion to plunder ſome part of Bedfordſhire. It is ſaid that Pr. *Rupert* is expected to come back to joyne with his Majeſtie, for doubtleſſe the maine deſigne in this flying Army, is to tyre our foot in purſuing them, and (as far as in them lyeth) to ruine and deſtroy the Countryes, and by falling into the aſſociate countyes, to make a great havock as the Duke of Plunderland hath in Lancaſhire; but Sir *William Waller* will haſten after them (who is ſaid not to be farr behind) to prevent their purpoſe: And this day the Parliament took great paines for the preſervation of thoſe parts, which the Royall Army intend to deſtroy.

Hartfordſhire do generally riſe, and it is thought this night there will be a very great Body of them at their Rendezvous near Hitchin. Major Generall Brown is ordered to march this night to Barnet, with an addition of Forces beſides the three Regiments of Auxiliaries already gone out with him; to ſtop the Enemies further incurſion into thoſe parts. Thoſe that come out of the County of Hereford certifie us, that the King having occaſion to make uſe of all his Garriſon Soldiers, the Iriſh which took the Caſtle of Brompton (which to the honour of the Soldiers held out a year and half) burnt it downe to the ground, and are gone from thence.

FINIS.

16

A SERMON PREACHED At the publike Faſt Before his Maieſty at Chriſt-Church in OXFORD.

By *William Chillingworth.*

Publiſhed by command ſince his death.

26 Jun. OXFORD,
Printed by HENRY HALL.
1644.

2 TIM. *Chap.* 3. *v.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

This know alſo, that in the laſt dayes perillous times ſhall come.
For men ſhall be lovers of their owne ſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to Parents, unthankfull, unholy,
Without naturall affection, truce-breakers, falſe accuſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good,
Traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleaſures more then lovers of God.
Having a forme of godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof.

TO a diſcourſe upon theſe words, I cannot think of any fitter introduction, then that wherewith our Saviour ſomeime began a Sermon of his, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled.* And I would to God there were not great occaſion to feare that a great part of it may be fulfilled in this place.

Two things are contained in it: Firſt, the reall wickedneſſe of the generality of the men of the latter times, in the foure firſt verſes. For by men ſhall be lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, &c. I conceive is meant, men generally ſhall be ſo, otherwiſe this were nothing peculiar to the laſt, but common to all times, for in all times ſome, nay many have been lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, &c. Secondly, we have here the formall and hypocriticall godlineſſe of the ſame times, in the laſt verſe, having a forme of godlineſſe, but denying the power there-

of; which latter ordinarily and naturally accompanies the former. For as the ſhadowes are longeſt when the Sunne is loweſt, and as vines and other fruit trees beare the leſſe fruit, when they are ſuffered to luxuriate and ſpend their ſap upon ſuperfluous ſuckers, and abundance of leaves: So commonly we may obſerve both in Civill converſation, where there is great ſtore of formality, there is little ſincerity: and in Religion, where there is a decay of true and cordiall piety, there men entertaine and pleaſe themſelves, and vainly hope to pleaſe God with externall formalities, and performances, and great ſtore of that righteouſneſſe for which Chriſt ſhall judge the world.

It were no difficult matter to ſhew that the truth of Saint *Pauls* prediction is by experience juſtified in both parts of it, but my purpoſe is to reſtraine my ſelfe to the latter, and to endeavour to cleare unto you, that that in our times is generally accompliſhed: That almoſt in all places the power of Godlineſſe is decayed and vaniſhed, the forme and profeſſion of it onely remaining: That the ſpirit, and ſoule, and life of Religion, is for the moſt part gone, onely the outward body or carcaſe, or rather the picture or ſhadow of it, being left behind: This is the Doctrine which at this time I ſhall deliver to you, and the uſe, which I deſire moſt heartily you ſhould make of it, is this. To take care that you confute, ſo farre as it concernes your particulars, what I feare I ſhall prove too true in the generall.

To come then to our buſineſſe without further complement, let us examine our wayes, and conſider impartially what the Religion of moſt men is.

We are baptized in our infancy, that is, as I conceive, dedicated and devoted to Gods ſervice, by our Parents and the Church, as young *Samuel* was by his mother *Anna*, and there we take a ſolemne vow, *To forſake the Devill and all his workes, the vaine pompe and glory of the world, with all the covet-*

covetous desires of it, to forsake also all the carnall desires of the flesh, and not to follow nor be led by them. This vow we take when we be children and understand it not: and how many are there who know, and consider, and regard what they have vowed, when they are become men, almost as little as they did being children? consider the lives, and publique Actions of most men of all conditions in Court, City, and Country, and then deny it if you can, that those three things which we have renounced in our baptisme, the profits, honours, and pleasures of the world, are not the very gods which divide the world amongst them, are not served more devoutly, confided in more heartily, loved more affectionately, then the *Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost*, in whose name we are baptized: deny if you can the daily and constant imployment of all men, to be either a violent prosecution of the vaine pompe and glory of the world, or of the power, riches, and contemptible profits of it, or of the momentany or unsatisfying pleasures of the flesh, or else of the more diabolicall humours of pride, malice, revenge, and such like: and yet with this empty forme we please and satisfie our selves, as well as if we were lively borne againe by the Spirit of God, not knowing, or not regarding what Saint *Peter* hath taught us, That the *Baptisme* which must save us, is, *Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience unto God.* 1 Pet. 3 21

When wee are come to yeeres capable of instruction, many, which is lamentable to consider, are so little regarded by themselves or others, that they continue little better then Pagans in a Common-wealth of Christians, and know little more of God or of Christ, then if they had beene bred in the Indies. A lamentable case, and which will one day lye heavie upon their account, which might have amended it and did not. But many I confesse are taught to act over this play of Religion, and learned to say, *Our Father which art in Heaven*; and, *I beleeve in God the Father Almighty,*

mighty: but where are the men that live ſo, as if they beleeve in earneſt, that God is their Almighty Father? where are they that feare him, and truſt him, and depend upon him onely, for their whole happineſſe, and love him, and obey him, as in reaſon we ought to doe to an Almighty Father? who if he be our Father, and we be indeed his children, will do for us all the good he can; and if he be Almighty, can doe for us all the good he will; and yet how few are there, who love him with halfe that affection as Children uſually do their naturall Parents, or beleeve him with halfe that ſimplicity, or ſerve him with halfe that diligence? And then for the Lords prayer, the plaine truth is, we lie unto God for the moſt part cleane through it, and for want of deſiring indeed what in word we pray for, tell him to his face as many falſe tales as we make Petitions. For who ſhewes by his endeavours, that he deſires heartily that *Gods Name ſhould be hallowed*, that is, holily, and religiouſly worſhipped and adored by all men? That *his Kingdome ſhould be advanced and inlarged? That his bleſſed will ſhould be univerſally obeyed?* Who ſhewes by his forſaking ſinne, that he deſires ſo much as he ſhould do the forgiveneſſe of it? Nay, who doth not revenge upon all occaſions, the affronts, contempts, and injuries put upon him, and ſo upon the matter curſe himſelfe, as oft as he ſayes, *Forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſſe againſt us?* How few depend upon God onely for their *dayly Bread, viz.* the good things of this life, as upon the onely giver of them, ſo as neither to get nor keepe any of them, by any meanes which they know or feare to be offenſive unto God? How few deſire in earneſt to *avoyd temptation?* Nay, who almoſt is there, that takes not the Devils office out of his hand, and is not himſelfe a tempter both to himſelfe and others? Laſtly, who almoſt is there that deſires heartily and above all things, ſo much as the thing deſerves, to be delivered from the *greateſt evill*, ſinne,

I meane, and the anger of God? Now beloved this is certaine, he that imployes not requiſite induſtry, to obtaine what he pretends to deſire, does not deſire indeed, but only pretends to do ſo: He that deſires not what he prayes for, prayes with tongue onely, and not with his heart; indeed does not pray to God, but play and dally with him. And yet this is all which men generally doe, and therefore herein alſo accompliſh this prophecie, *having a forme of godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof.*

And this were ill enough, were it in private, but we abuſe God Almighty alſo with our publike and ſolemne formalities, we make the Church a Stage whereon to act our parts and play our pageants, there we make a profeſſion every day of *confeſſing our ſinnes with humble, lowly, and obedient hearts*, and yet when we have talked after this manner, 20. 30. 40. yeeres together, our hearts for the moſt part continue as proud, as impenitent, as diſobedient, as they were in the beginning. We make great Proteſtations *when we aſſemble and meet together to render thanks to God Almighty, for the benefit received at his hands*; and if this were to be performed with words, with *Hoſanna's* & *Hallelujah's*, and *gloria patri's*, and Pſalmes and Hymnes, and ſuch like outward matters, peradventure we ſhould doe it very ſufficiently: but in the meane time with our lives and actions, we provoke the Almighty, and that to his face, with all variety of grievous and bitter provocations; we doe dayly and hourely ſuch things as we know, and he hath aſſured us to bee odious unto him, and contrary to his nature, as any thing in the world is to the nature of any man in the world; and all this upon poore, trifling, triviall, no temptations. If a man whom you had dealt well with, ſhould deale ſo with you, one whom ye had redeemed from the *Turkiſh* ſlavery, and inſtated in ſome indifferent good inheritance, ſhould make you fine ſpeeches, entertaine you with Panegyricks, and have your praiſes alwayes

wayes in his mouth, but all this while doe nothing that pleaſes you, but upon all occaſions, put all affronts and indignities upon you, would you ſay this were a thankfull man? Nay would you not make heaven and earth to ring of his unthankfulneſſe, and deteſt him almoſt as much for his faire ſpeeches, as his foule actions? Beloved, ſuch is our unthankfulneſſe to our God and Creatour, to our Lord and Saviour; our tongues ingeminate, and cry aloud, *Hoſanna, Hoſanna*, but the lowder voice of our lives and actions is *crucifie him, crucifie him*: We Court God Almighty, and complement with him, and profeſſe to eſteeme his ſervice *perfect freedome*, but if any thing be to be done, much more if any thing be to be ſuffered for him, here we leave him, we bow the knee before him, and put a reed in his hand, and a Crowne upon his head, and cry, *Haile King of the Iewes*: But then with our Cuſtomary ſinnes, we give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drinke, we thruſt a ſpeare in his ſide, naile him to the Croſſe, and Crucifie to our ſelves the Lord of Glory. This is not the Office of a friend to bewaile a dead friend with vaine lamentation. *Sed quæ voluerit meminiſſe, quæ mandaverit exequi*, to remember what he deſires, and execute what he commands; ſo ſaid a dying Roman to his friend, and ſo ſay I to you, To bee thankfull to God is not to ſay, God be praiſed, or, God be thanked, but to remember what hee deſires, and execute what hee commands, to bee thankfull to God is certainly to love him, and to love him is to keepe his Commandements, ſo ſaith our Saviour, *Ioh.* 14. *If ye love me keepe my Commandements*: If we doe ſo, we may juſtly pretend to thankfulneſſe, which beleeve me is not a word, nor to be performed with words: But if wee doe not ſo, as generally we doe not, our talke of thankfulneſſe is nothing elſe but meere talke, and we accompliſh Saint *Pauls* prophecy herein alſo: Having a forme of thankfulneſſe, but not the reality, not the power of it.

Mat. 21 9. Mrk 15. 13 14.

If

If I ſhould reckon up unto you, how many direct lies every wicked man tells God Almighty as often as he ſayes Amen, *to this forme of godlineſſe*, which our Church hath preſcribed. If I ſhould preſent unto you all our acting of piety, and playing of humiliation, and perſonating of devotion in the Pſalmes, the Letanies, the Collects, and generally in the whole ſervice, I ſhould be infinite: And therefore I have thought good to draw a vaile over a great part of our hypocriſie, and to reſtraine the remainder of our diſcourſe to the contrariety between our profeſſion and performance, only in two things; I meane *Faith* and *Repentance*.

And firſt for Faith, We profeſſe, and in deed generally, becauſe it is not ſafe to do otherwiſe, that we believe the Scripture to be true, and that it containes the plaine and onely way to infinite and eternall happineſſe: But if we did generally beleeve what we doe profeſſe, if this were the language of our hearts as well as our tongues, how comes it to paſſe that the ſtudy of it is ſo generally neglected?

Let a book that treats of the Philoſophers ſtone, promiſe never ſo many mountains of gold, and even the reſtoring of the golden age againe, yet were it no marvaile if few ſhould ſtudy it, and the reaſon is, becauſe few would beleeve it. But if there were a book extant, and ordinary to be had, as the Bible is, which men did generally beleeve to contain a plain, and eaſie way for all men to become rich, & to live in health and pleaſure, and this worlds happineſſe, can any man imagine that this book would be unſtudied by any man? And why then ſhould I not beleeve, that if the Scripture were firmly and heartily believed, the certaine and onely way to happineſſe which is perfect and eternall, it would be ſtudied by all men, with all diligence? Seeing therefore moſt Chriſtians are ſo cold and negligent in the ſtudy of it, prefer all other buſineſſe, all other pleaſures before it, is there not great reaſon to feare, that many who pretend to beleeve it firmely, beleeve it not at all, or very weakly and faintly? If the Ge-

nerall of an Army, or an Embaſſadour to ſome Prince or State were aſſured by the King his Maſter, that the tranſgreſſing any poynt of his Commiſſion ſhould coſt him his life, and the exact performance of it be recompenced with as high a reward as were in the Kings power to beſtow upon him: can it be imagined that any man who believes this, and is in his right mind, can be ſo ſupinely and ſtupidly negligent of this charge, which ſo much imports him, as to overſee through want of care any one neceſſarie article or part of his commiſſion: eſpecially if it be delivered to him in writing, and at his pleaſure to peruſe it every day? Certainly this abſurd negligence is a thing without example, and ſuch as peradventure will never happen to any ſober man to the worlds end: and by the ſame reaſon, if we were firmely perſwaded that this book doth indeed contain that charge and commiſſion, which infinitely more concerns us, it were not in reaſon poſſible, but that to ſuch a perſwaſion, our care & diligence about it, ſhould be in ſome meaſure anſwerable: ſeeing therefore moſt of us are ſo ſtrangely careleſſe, ſo groſſely negligent of it, is there not great reaſon to feare, that though we have *profeſſors* and *proteſtors* in abundance, yet the faithfull, the truely and ſincerely faithfull are in a manner failed from the children of men. What but this can be the cauſe that men are ſo commonly ignorant of ſo many articles, and particular mandates of it, which yet are as manifeſt in it as if they were written with the beams of the Sun? For example; how few of our Ladies and Gentlewomen do or will underſtand, that a voluptuous life, is damnable and prohibited to them? Yet Saint *Paul* ſaith ſo very plainely; *She that liveth in pleaſure is dead while ſhe liveth.* I beleeve this caſe divinely regards not the Sex; he would ſay, *He* well as *She*, if there had bin occaſion. How few of the gallants of our time doe or will underſtand, that it is not lawfull for them to be as expenſive and coſtly in apparell, as their meanes or perhaps their credit will extend unto? which is to ſacrifice

1 Tim. 5. 6.

unto

unto vanitie, that which by the Law of Christ is due unto Charity; and yet the same Saint *Paul* forbids plainely this excesse even to women--*also let women* (he would have said it much rather to the men) *array themselves in comely apparell, with shamefastnesse and modestie, not with embroidered haire, or gold, or pearles, or costly apparell*; and to make our ignorance the more inexcuable, the very same rule is delivered by Saint *Peter* also, 1 *Epist.* 3, 3. 1 Tim. 2. 9.

How few rich men are or will be perswaded that the Law of Christ permits them not to heape up riches for ever, nor perpetually to adde house to house, and land to land, though by lawfull meanes, but requires of them thus much charitie at least, that ever while they are providing for their Wives and Children, they should out of the increase, wherewith God blesseth their industrie, allot the poore a just and free proportion? and when they have provided for them in a convenient manner, (such as they themselves shall judge sufficient and convenient in others) that then they should give over making purchase after purchase, but with the superplusage of their revenue beyond their expence, procure as much as lyes in them, that no Christian remaine miserably poore: few rich men I feare are or will be thus perswaded, and their daily actions shew as much; yet undoubtedly, either our Saviours generall command, *of loving our neighbours as our selves*, which can hardly consist with our keeping vainely, or spending vainly what he wants for his ordinary subsistence, layes upon us a necessity of this high liberality, or his speciall command concerning this matter, *Quod superest date pauperibus, that which remaines give to the poore*, or that which S. *Iohn* saith, 1 *Epist.* 3, 17. reacheth home unto it, *whosoever hath this worlds good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up the bowells of his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?* Which is in effect, as if he had said--He that keepeth from any brother in Christ that which his brother wants, and he wants not, doth but vainely thinke that he Mat. 19. 19. Mat. 19. 21.

loves God, and therefore vainely hope that God loves him.

Where almoſt are the men that are or will be perſwaded the Goſpell of Chriſt requires of men *Humilitie*, like to that of *little Children*, and that under the higheſt paine of damnation? That is, that we ſhould no more over-value our ſelves, or deſire to be highly eſteemed by others, no more undervalue, ſcorn, or deſpiſe others, no more affect pre-eminence over others, then little children doe, before we have put that pride into them, which afterwards we charge wholy upon their naturall corruption: and yet our bleſſed Saviour requires nothing more Rigidly, nor more plainly then this high degree of humility; *verily, ſaith he, I ſay unto you*, he ſpeakes to his diſciples affecting high places, and demanding which of them ſhould be greateſt, *except ye be converted and become as little Children, ye ſhall not enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.* Mat. 18. 3.

Would it not be ſtrange newes to a great many, that not onely *adultery* and *fornication*, but even *uncleaneneſſe* and *laſciviouſneſſe*; not onely *idolatry*, and *witchcraft*, but *hatred, variance, emulations, wrath*, and *contentions*, not onely *murthers*, but *envying*: not *drunkenneſſe* only, but *revelling*, are things prohibited to Chriſtians, and ſuch as if we forſake them not, we cannot inherit the Kingdome of Heaven? and yet theſe things, as ſtrange as they may ſeeme, are plainely written; ſome of them by S. *Peter*, 1 *Epiſt.* 4. *chap.* But all of them by S. *Paul*, *Gal.* 5. 15. Now the workes of the fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe; *adultery, fornication, uncleaneneſſe, laſciviouſneſſe, &c. of the which I tell you before, as I have told you in times paſt, that they who doe ſuch things ſhall not inherit the Kingdome of God.*

If I ſhould tell you that al *bitterneſſe* and *evill ſpeaking* (nay ſuch is the modeſty and gravity which Chriſtianity requires of us) *fooliſh talke and jeſting* are things not allowed to Chriſtians, would not many cry out theſe are hard and ſtrange ſayings, who can heare them? and yet as ſtrange as they

they may ſeeme, they have beene written well nigh 1600 yeares, and are yet extant in very legible Characters in the Epiſtle to the *Eph*, the end of the 4. and the beginning of the 5 chap.

To come a little nearer to the buſineſſe of our times, the chiefe Actors in this bloudy Tragedy, which is now upon the Stage, who have robb'd our Soveraign Lord the King of his Forts, Townes, Treaſure, Ammunition, Houſes, of the Perſons of many of his Subjects, and (as much as lyes in them) of the hearts of all of them: Is it credible that they know and remember and conſider the example of *David* recorded for their inſtruction, *Whoſe heart ſmote him when he had but cut off the hemme of Sauls garment*? 1 Sam. 24, 11.

They that make no ſcruple at all of fighting with His Sacred Majeſty, and ſhooting Muſquets and Ordnance at Him (which ſure have not the skill, to chooſe a Subject from a King) to the extreame hazard of his Sacred Perſon, whom by all poſſible obligations they are bound to defend, do they know (think you) the generall rule without exception or limitation left by the Holy Ghoſt for our direction in all ſuch caſes, *Who can lift up his hand againſt the Lords Anoynted, and be innocent*? or doe they conſider his Command in the *Proverbs of Solomon*, *My ſonne feare God and the King, and meddle not with them that deſire change*? Or his councell in the Booke of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *I councell thee to keepe the Kings Commandement, and that in regard of the Oath of God*? or becauſe they poſſibly may pretend that they are exempted from, or unconcerned in the commands of obedience delivered in the Old Teſtament, doe they know and remember the precept given to all Chriſtians by S. *Peter*, *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of man, for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreame, or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him*? or that terrible ſanction of the ſame command, *They that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation*, left us by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, who then were the miſerable Subjects 1 Sam. 26, 9. Prov. 24, 21. Eccles. 8. 2. 1 Pet. 2, 13 Rom. 13, 2.

of the worſt King, the worſt man, nay, I think I may adde truly, the worſt beaſt in the world, that ſo all rebells mouths might be ſtopt for ever, and left without all colour or pretence whatſoever to juſtifie reſiſtance of Soveraign power. Undoubtedly if they did know and conſider and lay cloſe to their hearts, theſe places of Scripture, or the feareſull judgment which befell *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for this very ſinne which now they commit and with a high hand ſtill proceed in, it would be impoſſible but their hearts ſhould ſmite them, as *Davids* did, upon an infinitely leſſe occaſion, and affright them out of thoſe wayes of preſent confuſion, and eternall damnation. And then on the other ſide they that maintain the Kings righteous cauſe with the hazard of their lives and fortunes; but by their oathes and curſes, by their drunkenneſſe, and debauchery, by their irreligion and prophanneſſe, fight more powerfully againſt their partie, then by all other meanes they doe or can fight for it, are not I feare very well acquainted with any part of the Bible; but that ſtrict caution which properly concerns themſelves in the booke of *Deut.* 23.9. I much doubt they have ſcarce ever heard of it, *When thou goeſt to Wars with thine Enemies, then take heed there be no wicked thing in thee*, not only no wickedneſſe in the cauſe thou maintaineſt, nor no wickedneſſe in the means by which thou maintaineſt it, but no perſonall impieties in the perſons that maintaine it. Beloved for the former two, we have reaſon to be full of comfort and confidence; For what is our cauſe? What is that which you fight, and we pray for? but to deliver the King and all his good Subjects out of the power of their Enemies, who will have no peace but with their ſlaves and vaſſalls? and for the meanes by which it is maintained, it is not by lying, it is not by calumnies, it is not by running firſt our ſelves, and then forceing the people to univerſall perjury; but by a juſt war, becauſe neceſſary, and by as faire and mercifull a Warre as if they were not Rebells and Traitors you fight againſt, but

Numb. 16. 32.

but Competitors in a doubtfull Title. But now for the third part of the caution, that, to deale ingenuouſly with you, and to deliver my owne ſoule, If I cannot other mens, that I cannot think of with halfe ſo much comfort as the former; but ſeeing ſo many *Ionaſſes* imbarqued in the ſame ſhip, the ſame cauſe with us, and ſo many *Achan's* entering into Battel with us againſt the *Canaanites*, ſeeing Publicans and ſinners on the one ſide, againſt Scribes and Phariſees on the other; on the one ſide Hypocriſy, on the other prophanneſſe, no honeſty nor juſtice on the one ſide, and very little piety on the other; On the one ſide horrible oathes, curſes, and blaſphemies; On the other peſtilent lyes, calumnies, and perjury: When I ſee amongſt them the pretence of reformation, if not the deſire, purſued by Antichriſtian, Mahumetan, devilliſh meanes; and amongſt us little or no zeale for reformation of what is indeed amiſſe, little or no care to remove the cauſe of Gods anger towards us, by juſt, lawfull, and Chriſtian meanes; I profeſſe plainly I cannot without trembling conſider what is likely to be the event of theſe diſtractions; I cannot but feare that the goodneſſe of our cauſe may ſinke under the burthen of our ſinns: And that God in his juſtice, becauſe we will not ſuffer his Judgements to acheive their prime ſcope and intention, which is our amendment and reformation, may either deliver us up to the blind zeale and fury of our Enemies; or elſe, which I rather feare, make us inſtruments of his juſtice each againſt other, and of our owne juſt and deſerved confuſion. This I profeſſe plainly is my feare, and I would to God it were likewiſe the feare of every Souldier in His Majeſties Army; but that which increaſeth my feare is, that I ſee very many of them have very little or none at all: I meane not that they are feareleſſe towards their Enemies, (that's our joy and Triumph) but that they ſhew their courage even againſt God, and feare not him, whom it is madneſſe not to feare. Now from whence can their not fearing him proceed;

but

but from their not knowiug him, their not knowiug his will and their owne duty? not knowing how highly it concerns Souldiers, above other profeſſions to be religious, and then if ever when they are engaged in dangerous adventures, and every moment have their lives in their hands, *when they goe to warre with their Enemies, then to take heed there be no wicked thing in them.*

You ſee, beloved, how many inſtances and examples I have given you of our groſſe ignorance of what is neceſſary and eaſie for us to know, and to theſe it were no difficult matter to adde more. Now from whence can this ignorance proceed, but from ſupine negligence? and from whence this negligence, but from our not beliewing w: at we pretend to believe? For did we believe firmly and heartily, that this Booke were given us by God for the rule of our Actions, and that obedience to it were the certaine and only way to eternall happineſſe, it were impoſſible we ſhould be ſuch enemies to our ſelves, ſuch Traytors to our owne ſoules, as not to ſearch it at leaſt with ſo much diligence, that no neceſſary point of our duty plainly taught in it could poſſibly eſcape us. But it is certain, and apparent to all the world, that the greateſt part of Chriſtians, through groſſe and wilfull negligence remaine utterly ignorant of many neceſſary points of their duty to God, and man; and therefore it is much to be feared, that this booke, and the Religion of Chriſt contained in it, among an infinite of profeſſours, labours with great penury of true beleivers.

It were an eaſie matter (if the time would permit) to preſent unto you many other demonſtrations of the ſame concluſion; but to this drawn from our willing ignorance of that which is eaſie and neceſſary for us to know, I will content my ſelf to adde only one more taken from our voluntary and preſumptuous neglect to doe thoſe things which we know and acknowledge to be neceſſary.

If a man ſhould ſay unto me that it concerns him as much

as

as his life is worth, to goe preſently to ſuch a place, and that he knowes but one way to it, and I ſhould ſee him ſtand ſtill or goe ſome other way, had I any reaſon to believe that this man believes himſelfe? *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* ſaith he in the Comedy. *Poteſtatio contra factum non valet*, ſaith the Law: and why ſhould I believe, that, that man believes obedience to Chriſt the onely way to preſent and eternall happineſſe, when I ſee wittingly, and willingly and conſtantly, and cuſtomarily to diſobey him? The time was that we all knew that the King could reward thoſe that did him ſervice, and puniſh thoſe that did diſ-ſervice, and then all men were ready to obey his commands, and he was a rare man that durſt doe any thing to his face that offended him. Beloved, if we did but believe in God, ſo much as moſt ſubjects doe in their King, did we as verily believe, that God could and would make us perfectly happy if wee ſerve him, though all the world conſpire to make us miſerable, and that he could and would make us miſerable if wee ſerve him not, though all the world ſhould conſpire to make us happy, how were it poſſible that to ſuch a faith our lives ſhould not be comformable? Who was there ever ſo madly in love with a preſent penny, as to run the leaſt hazard of the loſſe of 10000 li. a yeare to gaine it, or not readily to part with it upon any probable hope or light perſwaſion, much more a firme beliefe that by doing ſo he ſhould gaine 100000 li. Now beloved, the happineſſe which the ſervants of Chriſt are promiſed in the Scripture, wee all pretend to believe, that it exceedes the conjunction of all the good things of the world, and much more ſuch a portion as wee may poſſibly enjoy, infinitely more then 10000 li. a yeare, or 100000 li, doth a penny, for 100000 li. is but a penny ſo many times over, and 10000 li. a yeare is worth but a certaine number of pence; but betweene Heaven and Earth, betweene finite and infinite, betweene Eternity and a moment, there is utterly no proportion, and therefore ſee-

ing we are ſo apt upon trifliug occaſions, to hazard this Heaven for this Earth, this infinite for this finite, this all for this nothing; is it not much to be feared, that though many of us pretend too much faith, we have indeed very little or none at al? The ſum of all which hath bin ſpoken concerning this point is this, Were we firmely perſwaded that obedience to the Goſpell of Chriſt, is the true and onely way to preſent and eternall happineſſe (without which faith no man living can be Juſtified) then the innate deſire of our owne happineſſe could not but make us ſtudious inquirers of the will of Chriſt, and conſcionable performers of it: but there are (as experience ſhewes) very few, who make it their care and buſineſſe to know the will of Chriſt, and of thoſe few againe, very many, who make no conſcience at all of doing what they know; therfore though they profeſſe & proteſt they have faith, yea their proteſtations are not to be regarded againſt their actions, but we may ſafely and reaſonably conclude what was to be concluded, That the Doctrine of Chriſt amongſt an infinite of profeſſors labours with great ſcarcitie of true, and ſerious, and hearty believers, and that herein alſo we accompliſh St. *Pauls* prediction, *having a forme of godlineſſe, but denying the power &c.*

But perhaps the truth and reality of our repentance may make ſome kind of ſatisfaction to God Almighty for our hypocriticall dallying with him in all the reſt; truly I ſhould be heartily glad it were ſo: but I am ſo farre from being of this faith, that herein I feare we are moſt of all hypocriticall, and that the generality of profeſſors is ſo farre from a reall practice of true repentance, that ſcarce one in an hundred underſtands truely what it is.

Some ſatisfie themſelves with a bare confeſſion and acknowledgement, either that that they are ſinners in general, or that they have committed ſuch and ſuch ſinnes in particular, which acknowledgement comes not yet from the heart of a great many, but only from their lips and tongues:

For

For how many are there, that doe rather complaine and murmure that they are finners, then acknowledge and confeſſe it? and make it upon the matter rather their unhappineſſe and misfortune, then their true fault, that they are ſo? ſuch are all they who impute all their commiſſions of evill to the unavoydable want of *reſtraining grace*, and all their omiſſion of good to the like want of *effectuall exciting grace*. All ſuch as pretend that the Commandements of God are impoſſible to be kept any better then they are kept, and thus the world, the fleſh, and the divell are even omnipotent enemies, and that God neither doth nor will give ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt and overcome them. All ſuch as lay al their faults upon *Adam* & ſay with thoſe rebellious Iſraelities (whom God aſſures that they neither had nor ſhould have juſt reaſon to ſay ſo) *That their Fathers had eaten ſowre grapes, and their teeth were ſet on edge.* Laſtly all ſuch as lay all their ſinnes upon *divine preſcience*, and *predeſtination*, ſaying with their tongues, O what wretched ſinners have we beene; but in their hearts, how could we helpe it, we were predeſtinate to it, we could not doe otherwiſe? Ezek. 18. 2.

All ſuch as ſeriouſly ſo perſwade themſelves, and thinke to hide nakedneſſe with ſuch fig-leaves as theſe, can no more be ſaid to acknowledge themſelves guilty of a fault, then a man that is borne blind or lame, with the ſtone or gout can accuſe himſelfe of any fault for being borne ſo; well may ſuch a one complaine and bemoan himſelfe, and ſay, O wretched man that I am who ſhall deliver me from this unhappineſſe? But ſuch a complaint is as farre from being a true acknowledgement of any fault, as a bare acknowledgement of a fault is farre from true repentance: for to confeſſe a fault is to acknowledge that freely and willingly without any conſtraint, or unavoydable neceſſity, wee have tranſgreſſed the law of God, it being in our Power by Gods grace to have done otherwiſe.

To aggravate this fault, is to confeſſe we have done ſo when we might eaſily have avoyded it, and had no great nor violent temptation to it; to pretend any great difficultie in the matter is to excuſe and extenuate it: but to ſay that all things conſidered, it was abſolutely impoſſible for you to avoyd it, is flatly to deny it. Others there are that think they have done enough, if to confeſſion of ſinne they adde ſome ſorrow for it; if when the preſent fit of ſin is paſt, and they are returned to themſelves, the ſting remaining breed ſom remorſe of conſcience, ſome complaints againſt their wickednesſe and folly for having done ſo, and ſome intentions to forſake it, though vaniſhing and ineffectuall. Theſe heardrops, this morning dew of ſorrow, though it preſently vaniſh, and they return to their ſin againe upon the next temptation, *as a dog to his vomit*, when the pang is over; yet in the pauſes betweene, while they are in their good mood, they conceive themſelves to have very true, and very good repentance; ſo that if they ſhould have the good fortune to be taken away in one of theſe *Intervalla*, one of theſe ſober moods, they ſhould certainly be ſaved; which is juſt as if a man in a quartane Ague, or the ſtone, or gout, ſhould think himſelfe rid of his diſeaſe, as oft as he is out of his fit.

2 Pet. 2. 22.

But if repentance were no more but ſo; how could S. *Paul* have truely ſaid, *that godly ſorrow worketh repentance?* every man knowes that nothing can worke it ſelfe. The Architect is not the houſe which he builds, the Father is not the Son which he begets, the Tradeſman is not the worke which he makes; and therefore if ſorrow, godly ſorrow, worketh repentance, certainly ſorrow is not repentance: the ſame S. *Paul* tells us in the ſame place, *that the ſorrow of the world worketh death*, and you will give me leave to conclude from hence, therefore it is not death, and what ſhall hinder me from concluding thus alſo? Godly ſorrow worketh repentance, therefore it is not repentance.

2 Cor. 7. 10.

2 Cor. 7. 10.

To this purpoſe it is worth the obſerving, that when the Scrip-

Scripture ſpeakes of that kind of repentance, which is onely ſorrow for ſomething done, and wiſhing it undone, it conſtantly uſeth the word Μεταμέλεια, to which forgiveneſſe of ſinnes is no where promiſed. So it is written of *Judas* the ſon of perdition, *Mat.* 27, 5. μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπήγξατο, *he repented and went and hanged himſelfe*, and ſo conſtantly in other places. But that repentance to which remiſſion of ſins and ſalvation is promiſed is perpetually expreſſed by the word Μετανοία, which ſignifies a through change of the heart and ſoule, of the life and actions, Μετανοεῖτε ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, *Mat.* 3, 2. which is rendred in our laſt tranſlation, *Repent for the Kingdome of heaven is at hand*: But much better, becauſe freer from ambiguitie in the entrance to our *Common Prayer Book*. *Amend your lives, for the Kingdome of heaven is at hand.* From whence by the way we may obſerve, that in the judgement of thoſe holy and learned Martyrs, *repentance and amendment of life* are all one: And I would to God the ſame men, out of the ſame care of avoyding miſtakes, and to take away occaſion of cavilling our Liturgy from them that ſeeke it, and out of feare of encouraging carrall men to ſecurity in ſinning, had beene ſo provident, as to ſet downe in termes the firſt ſentence taken out of the 18 of *Ezekiel*, and not have put in the place of it an ambiguous, and (though not in it ſelfe, yet accidentally, by reaſon of the miſtake to which it is ſubject,) I feare very often a pernitious paraphraſe; for whereas thus they make it: *At what time ſoever a ſinner doth repent him of his ſins from the bottome of his heart, I will put out all his wickedneſſe out of my remembrance, ſaith the Lord*: The plain truth, if you will heare it, is, the Lord doth not ſay ſo, theſe are not the very words of God, but the paraphraſe of men: the words of God are as followeth---*If the wicked turne from all the ſins which he hath committed, and keepe all my ſtatutes, and do that which is lawfull & right, he ſhall ſurely live, he ſhall not dye*; Ezek. 18 21. where I hope you eaſily obſerve, that there is no ſuch word as--*At what time ſoever a ſinner doth repent, &c.* and that there

is a wide difference betweene this (as the word *repent* uſually ſounds in the eares of the people) and turning from all ſinnes, and keeping all Gods ſtatutes, that indeed having no more in it but ſorrow and good purpoſes, may be done eaſily and certainely at the laſt gaſpe, and it is very ſtrange that any Chriſtian, who dyes in his right ſenſes, and knowes the difference betweene heaven and hell, ſhould faile of the performing it: but this worke of turning, keeping, and doing is (though not impoſſible by extraordinarie mercy to be performed at laſt) yet ordinarily a worke of time, a long and a laborious worke (but yet heaven is very well worth it) and if you meane to goe through with it, you had need goe about it preſently. Yet ſeeing the Compoſers of our Liturgy thought fit to abreviate, *Turning from all ſinne, and keeping all Gods ſtatutes, and doing that which is lawfull and right*, into this one word *repenting*, it is eaſie and obvious to collect from hence, as I did before, from the other place, that by repentance they underſtood not only ſorrow for ſinne, but converſion from it. The ſame word Μετανοια, *Mat.* 12, 42. is uſed in ſpeaking of the the repentance of the *Ninivites*, and how reall, hearty, and effectuall a converſion that was, you may ſee *Jonas* 3, from the 5 to the laſt verſe: *The people of* Ninive *beleeved God, and put on ſackcloth from the greateſt of them to the leaſt of them, for word came to the King of* Ninive, *and he aroſe from his throne, and he caſt his Robe from him, and covered him with ſackcloth, and ſate in aſhes; and he cauſed it to be proclaimed and publiſhed throughout* Ninive, *by the decree of the King and of his nobles, ſaying, Let neither man nor beaſt, heard, nor flock, taſte any thing, let them not feed nor drinke water, but let man and beaſt be covered with ſackcloth, and cry mightily unto God; yea let every one turne from his evill way, and from the violence which is in their hands; who can tell if God will turne and repent, and turne away his fierce anger that we periſh not?*

Which words containe an excellent and lively patterne for

for all true penitents to follow, and whereunto to conform themſelves in their humiliation and repentance. And truly though there be no *Ionas* ſent expreſſly from God to cry unto us, *Yet forty dayes and Nineveh ſhall be deſtroyed*; yet ſeeing the mouth of eternall truth hath taught us, that *a Kingdome divided* is in ſuch danger of ruine and deſtruction, that, morally ſpeaking, if it continue divided it cannot ſtand, and ſeeing the ſtrange and miſerable condition of our Nation at this time, may give any conſiderable man juſt cauſe to feare, that as in *Rehoboams* caſe, ſo likewiſe in ours, *The thing is of the Lord*, intending to bring his heavy judgement upon us, for our great ſinnes, and our ſtupid, and ſtupendious ſecurity in ſinning, and to make us inſtruments of his deſigned vengeance, one upon another, peradventure it would be a ſeaſonable and neceſſary motion to be made to our King and his Nobles, to revive this old *Proclamation* of the King of *Nineveh*, and to ſend it with authority through His Majeſties dominions, and to try whether it will produce ſome good effect: *who can tell if God will turne and repent, and turne away from his fierce anger, that we periſh not?* Who can tell whether he that hath the hearts of King and people in his hand, and turneth them whitherſoever he thinketh beſt, may not upon our repentance take our extreamity for his opportunity, and at laſt open our eyes that we *may ſee thoſe things that belong to our peace*, and ſhew us the way of Peace, which hitherto we have not known: but this by the way; for my purpoſe I obſerve that this repentance, which, when the ſword of God was drawne, and his arme advanced for a blow, ſtayed his hand, and ſheathed his ſword againe, was not a meere ſorrow for their ſinnes, and a purpoſe to leave them, nay it was not only laying aſide their gallantry and bravery, and putting on ſack-cloath and ſitting in aſhes, and crying mightily unto God, of which yet we are come very ſhort: but it was alſo and that chiefly, their uniuerſall turning from their evill way, which above all the reſt was pre-

Ionah 3, 4.

1 King 12, 24.

Luk. 19, 42.

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valent and effectuall with God Almighty, for ſo it is written. *And God ſaw their works that they turned from their evill*
Jonah 3. 10. *way, and God repented him of the evill that he ſayd he would doe, and he did it not.*

In the goſpell of S. *Luke*, cap. 24. The condition of the new Covenant, to which remiſſion of ſinnes is promiſed, is expreſſed by the word Μετάνοια, *Thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer and to riſe from the dead, and that* (Μετάνοια) *Repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes ſhould be preached in his name*, which place if
Mat. 28. 19. ye compare with that in the Goſpell of S. *Matthew. Go teach all Nations baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all whatſoever I ſhall command you.* It will be no difficulty to collect, that what our Saviour calls in one place Μετάνοια, repentance, that he cals in another obſerving all that he hath commanded; which if repentance were no more but ſorrow for ſin, and intending to leave it, certainly he never could nor would have done. And as little could S. *Paul Act.* 20. 21. profeſſe that the whole matter of his preaching was nothing elſe but Μετάνοιαν εἰς τὸν Θεόν, *Repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt:* It being manifeſt in his Epiſtles, he preaches and preſſes every where, the neceſſity of mortification, regeneration, new, and ſincere obedience, all which are evidently not contained under the head of *Faith*, and therfore it is evident he comprized all theſe under the name of *Repentance.*

In which words moreover it is very conſiderable, as alſo in another place, *Heb.* 6. where among the fundamentalls of Chriſtianity the firſt place is given to Μετάνοια ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων I ſay it is very conſiderable, that though the word may not very abſolutely be rendred repentance, yet we ſhall doe much right to the place and make them much more cleare and intelligible, if in ſtead of *Repentance* we had put *converſion* as it is in ſome of the beſt Latine tranſlations: ſo for example, if inſtead of *repentance to God Act.* 20. and *re-*

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pentance from dead works in the Epiſtle to the *Heb.* which our Engliſh tongue will hardly beare; we ſhould reade *converſion to God, and converſion from dead workes*, every one ſees it would be more perſpicuous and more naturall, whereas on the other ſide if inſtead of repentance we ſhould ſubſtituite ſorrow (as every true and genuine interpretation may with advantage to the cleareneſſe of the ſenſe be put in place of the word interpreted) and read the places *ſorrow towards God, and ſorrow from dead workes*, it is apparent that this reading would be unnaturall, and almoſt ridiculous, which is a great argument that Μετανοια, to which forgiveneſſe of ſinnes is promiſed in the Goſpell, is not only ſorrow for ſinne, but converſion from ſinne.

And yet if it be not ſo, but that Heaven may be purchaſed at eaſier, and cheaper rates: how comes it to paſſe that in the new Teſtament, we are ſo plainly and ſo frequently aſſured, that without actuall, and effectuall amendment, and newneſſe of life, without actuall, and effectual mortification, regeneration, ſanctification, there is no hope, no poſſibility of Salvation?

Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewen down and caſt into the fire, So S. *John* Baptiſt preaches repentance; it is not then the leaves of a faire profeſſion, no nor the bloſſoms of good purpoſes and intentions, but the fruite, the fruit only that can ſave us from the fire, neither is it enough not to bear ill fruit, unleſſe we bring forth good. *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn downe and caſt into the fire.*

Not every one that ſayeth unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven, ſo our Saviour Matth. 7 21. And againe after he had delivered his moſt divine precepts in his Sermon on the mount (which Sermon contains the ſubſtance of the Goſpell of Chriſt:) he cloſeth up all with ſaying: *he that heareth theſe ſayings of mine* and doth them not) and yet theſe were the hardeſt ſayings that ever he ſayed (*I will liken*

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Mat. 7, 26. 27. *him to a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand, that is, the hope of salvation* upon a sandy and false ground; *when the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, it fell, and great was the fall of it.*

They that are Christs have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. So S. *Paul*, Gal. 5. 24. they then that have not done so, nor crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts, let them be as sorrowfull as they please, let them intend what they please, they as yet are none of Christs, and good Lord what a multitude of Christians then are there in the world that doe not belong to Christ?

Gal. 5. 19. 20. 21. *The workes of the flesh* sayeth the same S. *Paul, are manifest, which are these, Adultery, Fornication, Vncleanesse, Lasciviousneſse, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings, Murthers, Drunkennesse, revellings, of the which I tell you before, as I have told you in times past, that they which doe such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* He doth not say, they which have done such things shall not be saved, but manifestly to the contrary. *Such were some of you, but ye are washed, but you are sanctified:* but he says; they *which doe* such things, and without amendment of life shall continue doing them, shall not be excused, by any pretence of sorrow and good purposes. *They shall not inherite the Kingdome of Heaven.*

1 Cor. 6, 9. 10. And againe in another Epistle, *know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor abusers of themselves with mankinde, nor Theeves, nor covetous, nor Drunkards,* Gal. 6. 15. *nor revilers shall inherite the Kingdome of God.*

In Christ Iesus (saith the same Saint *Paul* in other places) *nothing availeth but faith: nothing but a new creature, nothing but keeping the Commandements of God*; it is not then a wishing but a working faith, not wishing you were a new creature, nor sorrowing you are not, but being a new creature, not wishing you had kept, not sorrowing you have not kept, nor purposeing vainly to keepe, but keeping his Comman-

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dements muſt prevaile with him.

Follow peace with all men and holineſſe, ſaith the Divine Author of the Epiſtle to the *Heb.*) *without which no man ſhal ſee the Lord.* Heb. 12. 14.

Saint *Peter* in his 2. Epiſtle, commends unto us a golden chaine of Chriſtian perfections, conſiſting of theſe linkes, *Faith, vertue, knowledge, Temperance, patience, godlineſſe, brotherly kindneſſe, charity: and then addes. He that lacketh theſe things is blind, and knoweth not that he was purged from his old ſinnes.* Let his ſorrow be never ſo great, and his deſires never ſo good, yet if he lacke theſe things, he is blind, and *was purged* from his old ſinnes, *but is not.* 2 Pet. 1. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

Laſtly Saint *Iohn, he that hath this hope purifieth himſelfe, even as he is pure,* the meaning is not with the ſame degree of purity, for that is impoſſible, but with the ſame kind, the ſame truth of purity, he that doth not purify himſelfe, nay, nay doth flatter himſelfe, and without warrant preſume upon Gods favour, but *this hope* he hath not; and againe, *Little Children, let no man deceive you, he that doth righteouſneſſe is righteous, even as he is righteous*; And thus you ſee all the divine Writers of the New Teſtament with one conſent and one mouth proclaime the neceſſity of reall holineſſe, and labour together to diſinchant us from this vaine phanſy, that men may be ſaved, by ſorrowing for their ſinne and intending to leave it, without effectuall converſion and reformation of life, which, it may well be feared, hath ſent thouſands of ſoules to hell in a golden dreame of Heaven. 1 Iohn 3. 3. 1 Iohn 3. 7.

But is not this to preach workes as the Papiſts doe? no certainly; it is not; but to preach workes as Chriſt and his Apoſtles doe, it is to preach the neceſſity of them, which no good Proteſtant, no good Chriſtian ever denied, but is is not to preach the merit of them which is the error of the Papiſts.

But is it not to preach the Law in time of the Goſpell? no certainly it is not: for the Law forgives no ſinnes but requireth exact obedience, & *curſeth* every one which from

the beginning to the end of his life, *continueth not in all things*
Gal. 3. 10. *which are written in the Law to do them*, but the Goſpel ſayes, & accordingly I have ſaid unto you, that there is mercy alwayes in ſtore, for thoſe *who know the day of their viſitation*, and forſake their ſins in time of mercy, and that God will pardon their imperfections in the progreſſe of holineſſe, who miſcall not preſumptuous and deliberate ſins by the name of imperfections; but ſeriouſly and truly endeavour to be perfect; onely I forewarne you that you muſt never looke to be admitted to the wedding feaſt of the Kings Son, either in the impure rags of any cuſtomary ſinne, or without the *wedding garment* of Chriſtian holineſſe; onely I forewarne you that whoſoever lookes to be made partaker of the joyes of heaven, muſt make it the chiefe, if not the onely buſineſſe of his life, to know the will of God and to doe it; that *great violence* is required by our Saviour for the taking of this Kingdome, that the race we are to run is a long race, the building we are to erect is a great building, and will hardly, very hardly be finiſhed in a day, that the worke we have to doe of mortifying all vices; and acquiring all Chriſtian vertues, is a long worke; we may eaſily deferre it too long, we cannot poſſibly begin it too ſoone. Onely I would perſwade you, and I hope I have done, that that repentance which is not effectuall to true and timely converſion, will never be available unto eternall ſalvation. And if I have proved unto you that this is indeed the nature of true repentance, then certainly I have proved withall, that that repentance wherewith the generality of Chriſtians content themſelves, notwithſtanding their great profeſſions what they are, and their glorious proteſtations of what they intend to be, is not the *power* but the *forme*; not the truth but the ſhadow of true repentance, and that herein alſo we accompliſh Saint *Pauls* prediction, having a *forme of godlineſſe, &c.*

And now what remaines but that (as I ſaid in the beginning,) I ſhould humbly intreat and earneſtly exhort every man

man that hath heard me this day, to confute in his particular what I have proved true in the generall. To take care that the ſinne of formality, though it be the ſinne of our times, may yet not be the ſin of our perſons, that we ſatisfie not our ſelves with the ſhadowes of Religion, without the ſubſtance of it, nor with the *forme of godlineſſe* without the *power* of it.

To this purpoſe I ſhall beſeech you to conſider, that though ſacrificing, burning incenſe, celebrating of ſet feſtivalls, praying, faſting, and ſuch like, were under the Law, the ſervice of God commanded by himſelfe, yet whenſoever they proceeded not from, nor were joyned with the ſincerity of an honeſt heart, he proteſteth frequently almoſt in all the Prophets, not onely his ſcorne and contempt of them all, as fond, empty, and ridiculous; but alſo his hating, loathing, and deteſting of them as abominable and impious.

The Sacrifice of the wicked is abomination to God, Prov. 15, 8. *What have I to doe with the multitude of your Sacrifices? ſaith the Lord*, Eſay the firſt, *I am full of the burnt offerings of Rams, and of the fat of fed beaſts, when ye come to appeare before me, who required this at your hands? Bring no more vaine oblations: Incenſe is an abomination to me, I cannot ſuffer your new moones, nor ſabbaths, nor ſolemne dayes, it is iniquity, even your ſolemne aſſemblies: My ſoule hateth your new moones, and your appoynted feaſts, they are a burthen to me, I am weary to beare them; and when you ſhall ſtretch out your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you, and though you make many prayers I will not heare, for your hands are full of blood.*

And againe, *Iſa. 66, 3. He that kills an Oxe is a if he ſlew a man, he that ſacrificeth a Lambe as if he cut off a Dogs necke, he that offereth an oblation as if he offered Swines fleſh, he that burned incenſe, as if he bleſſed an Idoll*; and what's the reaſon of this ſtrange averſion of God from his owne Ordinances? it followes in the next words, *they have choſen their owne wayes, and their ſoule delighteth in their abominations.*

Terrible are the words which he ſpeketh to the ſame purpoſe

poſe in the prophecie of *Amos*, chap. 5. v. 21, 22, 23. *I hate, I deſpiſe your feaſt dayes, and I will not ſmell in your ſolemne aſſemblies, though you offer me burnt offerings and meat offerings, I will not accept them, nor will I regard your peace offerings.*

Now beloved, if this hypocriſie, this reſting in outward performances, were ſo odious to God under the law, a religion full of ſhadowes, and ceremonies, certainely it will be much more odious to do ſo under the Goſpell, a religion of much more ſimplicity, and exacting ſo much the greater ſincerity of the heart, even becauſe it disburdens the outward man of the perfor mance of Legall rites and obſervances. And therefore if we now under the Goſpell, ſhall thinke to delude God Almighty, as *Michall* did *Saul*, with an Idoll handſomely dreſt in ſtead of the true *David*. If we ſhall content and pleaſe our ſelves, with being of ſuch or ſuch a Sect or profeſſion, with going to Church, ſaying, or hearing of Prayers, receiving of Sacraments, hearing, repeating, or preaching of Sermons, with zeale for Ceremonies, or zeale againſt them, or indeed with any thing beſides conſtant pietie towards God, Loyalty and obedience towards our Soveraigne, juſtice and charity towar ds all our Neighbours, temperance, chaſtity, and ſobriety towards our ſelves, certainly we ſhall one day find, that we have not mocked God, but our ſelves, and that our portion among hypocrites ſhall be greater, then theirs.

In the next place let me intreat you to conſider the fearfull judgement which God hath particularly threatned to this very ſinne of *drawing nigh unto him with our lips, when our hearts are farre from him*: It is the great judgement of being given over to *the ſpirit of ſlumber and ſecuritie*, the uſuall fore-runner of ſpeedy deſolation and deſtruction, as we may ſee in the 29 *chap.* of *Eſaiah*, from the 9 to the 14 *verſe*. *Stay your ſelves and wonder, cryye out, and cry, they are drunken but not with wine, they ſtagger but not with ſtrong drinke: for the Lord hath powered out upon you the ſpirit of deepe ſleepe, and hath*

hath cloſed your eyes. The Prophets and your Rulers, the ſeers hath he covered, and after, at the 14 *verſe, The wiſedome of their wiſe men ſhall periſh, and the underſtanding of their prudent men ſhall be hidde.* Certainely this judgement if ever it were upon any people, we have cauſe to feare it is now upon us. For if the ſpirit of *deepe ſleepe* were not upon us, how could we ſleepe ſo ſecurely, even upon the brinke of the pit of perdition? how could wee proceed on ſo confidently in our mirth and jollity, nay in our crying ſins and horrible impieties, now when the hand of God is upon us, and wrath is gone out, and even ready to conſume us? And if the wiſedome of our wiſe men were not periſhed, how were it poſſible they ſhould ſo obſtinately refuſe the ſecurity offered of our lawes, liberties, and religion by the Kings Oath, by his execrations on himſelfe, and his poſterity, in caſe hee ſhould violate it, by the oathes of all his Miniſters, not to conſent to, or be inſtruments in ſuch a violation, by the ſo much deſired *Triennial Parliament*, from which no tranſgreſſor can poſſibly be ſecure; and inſtead of all this ſecurity, ſeeke for it by a civill warre, the continuance whereof muſt bring us to deſtruction and deſolation, or elſe he hath deceived us by whom we are taught, *That a Kingdome divided againſt it ſelfe cannot ſtand.* Mat. 23. 25.

Now what was the ſinne which provoked this feareful judgement? What but that which I have laboured to convince you of, and to diſſwade you from, even the ſin of hypocriſie? as we may ſee at the 12 verſe: *wherefore ſaith the Lord, forasmuch as this people draw neare me with their mouth, and with their lips doe honour me, but have removed their hearts farre from me; and their feare towards me is taught by the precepts of men, therefore behold I will proceed to doe a mervailous worke among them: for the wiſedome of their wiſe men ſhall periſh, &c.*

Conſider, thirdly, what woes, and woes, and woes, our Saviour thunders out againſt the Scribes and Phariſees for hypocriſie, *Woe be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, Hypocrites,* and Mat. 25. 25. 27. 29.

and again, and again, *woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites:* Beloved, if we be hypocrites as they were, *Tithe mint and Cumin, and neglect the weighty matters of the Law, judgement and justice, and mercy,* as they did: *Make long prayers, and under a pretence devoure widowes houses,* as they did: *Wash the outside of the dish and platter, while within we are full of ravening and wickednesse,* write Gods Commandements very large and faire upon our *Phylacteries,* but shut them quite out of our hearts: *Build the Sepulchres of the old Prophets, and kill their successors,* in fine, if we be like *painted Sepulchres* as they were, *outwardly garnished and beautifull, but within full of dead mens bones and rottennesse,* we are then to make accompt that all these woes belong to us and will one day over-take us.

Consider, lastly, the terrible example of *Ananias* and *Saphira,* and how they were snatcht away in the very act of their sinne, and that their fault was (as the Text tell us) that they lyed unto God. Beloved, we have done so a thousand thousand times: our whole lives (if sincerely examined) would appeare, I feare, little lesse but a perpetuall lye; hitherto God hath beene mercifull to us, and given us time to repent, but let us not proceed still in imitating their facts, lest at length we be made partakers of their fall.

God of his infinite mercy prevent this in every one of us, even for his Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake; by whom and with whom, in the unity of the holy Spirit, be all honour and glory to the eternall Father, world without end: *Amen.*

FINIS.

Mer

A Diſcourſe
IRE

1. *The true ca*
cover
2. *The courſe*
3. *The reaſon*
and o

Touching tho
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Mercuriu

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Mercurius Hibernicus:

OR,

A Diſcourſe of the late Inſurrection in IRELAND, diſplaying,

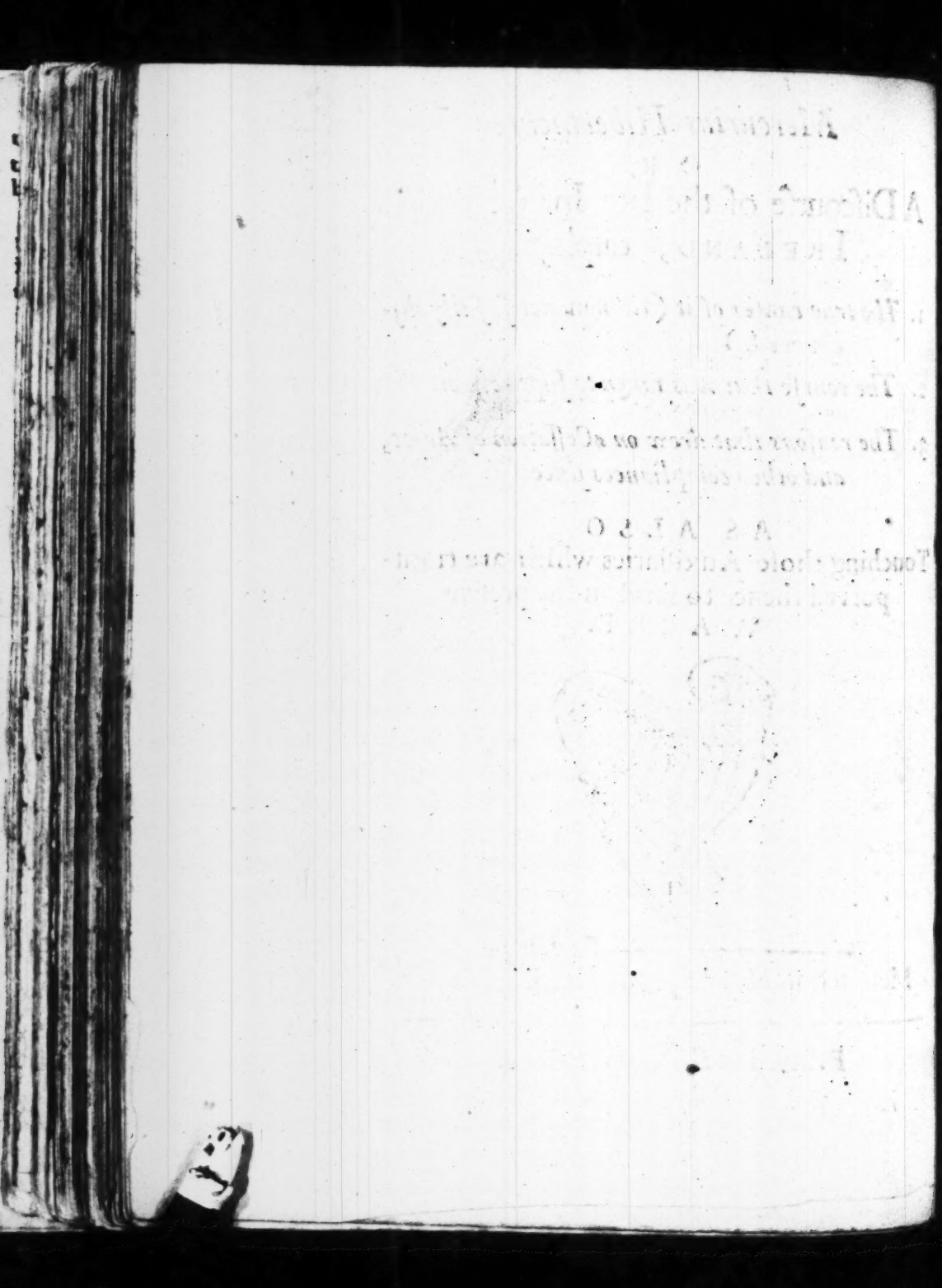
1. *The true cauſes of it (till now not ſo fully diſcovered.)*
2. *The courſe that was taken to ſuppreſſe it.*
3. *The reaſons that drew on a Ceſſation of Arms, and other compliances ſince.*

AS ALSO

Touching thoſe Auxiliaries which are tranſported thence to ſerve in the preſent WARRE.

——— ——— *Patremque*
Mercurium *blandæ quis negat eſſe* Lyræ.

Printed at *Briſtoll*, 1644.



Mercurius Hibernicus,

His Advertiſement to the wel-temperd READER.

THere is a mongrell race of Mercuries *lately ſprung up, but I claime no* acquaintance *with them, much leſſe any* kinred. *They have commonly but one weeks time for their conception and birth; and then are they but like thoſe* Ephemeran *creatures, which* Pliny *ſpeakes of, that are borne in the morning, grow up till noon, and periſh the ſame night: I hope to be longer liv'd then ſo, becauſe I was longer a getting, there was more time and matter went to my Generation.*

There is a Tale how the true Mercury *indeed, deſcended once in a diſguiſe, to ſee how he was eſteemed on earth; and entring one day into a Painters ſhop, he found there divers Pictures of* Apollo, Jupiter, Mars *with others, and ſpying his owne hanging in a corner hard by, he aſked what the price of that Pourtrait might be, The Painter anſwered, that if he bought any of the reſt, he would give him that into the bargaine for nothing:* Mercury *hereupon ſhaking his white* Caducean, *flung out in indignation, and flew up to Heaven. Should* Mercury *chance to deſcend now from his ſpheare, I think he would be much more offended to find himſelf perſonated by every petty impertinent Pamphleter; yet I beleeve he would not take it ill that* Aulicus *aſſumes his ſhape, nor that the* Harp, *who owes her firſt invention to him, ſhould be made now his creſt.*

To my honourable Friend Master *E. P.*

SIR,

IF *You please to cast your eyes upon the following Discourse, I beleeve it will afford you some satisfaction, and enlighten you more in the Irish affaires. The alleagiance I owe to* Truth, *was the* Midwife *that brought it forth, and I make bold to make choyce of you for my* Gossip, *because I am*

Your true Servant

Philerenus.

Mercurius Hibernicus.

THere is not any thing ſince theſe wars begun, whereof there hath been more advantage made, to traduce and blemiſh His Majeſties actions, to alienate and imbitter the affections of his people, to incite them to armes, and enharden them in the quarrell, than of the *Iriſh* affaires; whether one caſt his eyes upon the beginning and procedure of that warre (which ſome by a moſt mõſtrous impudence would patronize upon their Majeſties) or upon the late *Ceſſation*, and the tranſport of Auxiliaries ſince from thence. There are ſome that in broken peeces have written of all three, but not in one entire diſcourſe, as this is: nor hath any hitherto hit upon thoſe reaſons and inferences that ſhall be diſplayed herein.

But he who adventures to judge of affaires of State, ſpecially of traverſes of warre, as of Pacifications, of Truces, Sub-

penſions of Armes, Parlies, and ſuch like, muſt well obſerve the quality of the times, the ſucceſſe and circumſtance of matters paſt, the poſture and preſſure of things preſent (and upon the *Place*) the inducement or *enforcement* of cauſes, the gaining of time, the neceſſity of preventing greater miſchiefes (whereunto true policy *prometheus* like hath alwayes an eye) with other advantages. The late *Ceſſation* of Armes in *Ireland* was an affaire of this nature; a true Act of State, and of as high a conſequence as could be: Which Ceſſation is now become the *common Subject* of every mans diſcourſe, or rather the diſcourſe of every *common Subject* all the three Kingdomes over: And not onely the ſubject of their diſcourſe, but of their *cenſure* alſo; nor of their cenſure onely, but of their reproach and obloquy. For the World is come now to that paſſe, that the Foot muſt judge the Head, the very *Cobler* muſt pry into the Cabinet Counſels of his *King*; nay, the *Diſtaffe* is ready ever and anon to arraigne the *Scepter*; Spinſtreſſes are become Stateſ-women, and every peaſan turned

ned politician; ſuch a fond irregular humour reignes generally of late yeeres amongſt the Engliſh Nation.

Now the Deſigne of this ſmall diſcourſe, though the Subject require a farre greater volume, is, to vindicate His Majeſties moſt pious intentions in condeſcending to this late ſuſpenſion of Arms in His Kingdome of *Ireland*; and to make it appeare to any rationall ingenious capacity, (not pre-occupied or purblinded with paſſion) that there was more of honour and neceſſity, more of prudence and piety in the ſaid Ceſſation, than there was either in the *Pacification* or *Peace* that was made with the Scot.

But to proceed herein the more methodically, I will lay downe, firſt,

The reall and true radicall cauſes of the late two-yeers Iriſh *Inſurrection*.

Secondly, the courſe His Majeſty uſed to ſuppreſſe it.

Laſtly, thoſe indiſpenſable impulſive reaſons and invincible neceſſity which enforced His Majeſty to condeſcend to a Ceſſation.

Touching the grounds of the ſaid Inſurrection, we may remember when His Majeſty out of a pious deſigne (as His *late Majeſty* alſo had) to ſettle an Uniformity of ſerving God in all his three Kingdomes, ſent our *Liturgie* to his Subjects of *Scotland*; ſome of that Nation made ſuch an advantage hereof, that though it was a thing onely *recommended*, not *commanded* or preſſed upon them, and ſo cald in ſuddenly againe by a moſt gracious Proclamation, accompanied with a generall pardon: Yet they would not reſt there, but they would take the opportunity hereby to demoliſh Biſhops, and the whole Hierarchy of the Church (which was no grievance at all till then.) To which end, they put themſelves in actuall Arms, and obtained at laſt what they liſted; which they had not dared to have done, had they not been ſure to have as good friends in *England* as they had in *Scotland* (as *Leſley* himſelfe confeſſed to Sir *William Berkley* at *Newcaſtle*) for ſome of the chiefeſt Inconformiſts here, had not onely intelligence with them, but had been of their Cabinet counſels in moulding the

Plot

Plot: though ſome would caſt this war upon the French Cardinall, to vindicate the invaſiō we made upon *his* Maſters dominions in the Iſle of *Rets*; as alſo for ſome advātage the Engliſh uſe to do the Spaniard in tranſporting his Treaſure to Dunkerk, with other offices. Others would caſt it upō the *Jeſuit*, that he ſhould project it firſt, to force His Majeſty to have recourſe to his Roman Catholick Subjects for ayd, that ſo they might, by ſuch *Supererogatory* ſervice ingratiate thēſelves the more into his favour.

The *Iriſh* hearing how well their next Neighbours had ſped by way of Arms, it filled them full of thoughts & apprehenſiōs of feare & jealouſie, that the *Scot* would prove more powerfull hereby, and conſequently more able to do them hurt, and to attempt wayes to reſtrain them of that connivency, which they were allowed in poynt of Religion: Now there is no Nation upon earth that the Iriſh hate in that perfectiō, & with a greater Antipathy, than the *Scot*, or from whom they conceive greater danger: For whereas they have an old propheſie amongſt them, which one ſhall heare up and

downe in every mouth, *That the day will come when the Iriſh ſhall weep upon Engliſh mens graves*, They feare that this propheſie will be verified and fulfilled in the *Scot*, above any other Nation.

Moreover, the *Iriſh* entred into conſideration, that *They* alſo had ſundry grievances and grounds of complaint, both touching their eſtates and conſciences, which they pretended to be farre greater than thoſe of the *Scots*. For they fell to think, that if the Scot was ſuffered to introduce a *new* Religion, it was reaſon they ſhould not be ſo pinched in the exercife of their *old*, which they glory never to have altered. And for temporall matters (wherein the *Scot* had no grievance at all to ſpeak of) the new plantations which had been lately afoot, to be made in *Conaught* and other places; the concealed lands and defective titles which were daily found out; the new cuſtomes which were impoſed, and the incapacity they had to any preferment or office in Church and State (with other things) they cõceived theſe to be grievances of a farre greater nature, and that deſerved redreſſe much more than

any

any the *Scot* had. To this end, they ſent over Commiſſioners to attend this Parliament in *England*, with certaine Propoſitions, but thoſe Commiſſioners were diſmiſſed hence with a ſhort and unſavoury anſwer, which bred worſe blood in the Nation than was formerly gathered; and this, with that leading caſe of the *Scot*, may be ſaid to be the firſt incitements that made them riſe.

In the courſe of humane actions, we daily find it to be a true rule, *Exempla movent*, *Examples move*, and make ſtrong impreſſions upon the fancy; *precepts* are not ſo powerfull as *precedents*. The ſaid example of *Scotland*, wrought wonderfully upon the imagination of the Iriſh, and filled them (as I touched before) with thoughts of emulation, that *They* deſerved altogether to have as good uſage as the *Scot*, their Country being farre more beneficiall, and conſequently, more importing the Engliſh Nation. But theſe were but confuſed imperfect notions, which began to receive more vigour and forme after the death of the Earle of *Strafford*, who had kept them under

under ſo exact an obedience, though ſome cenſure him to have ſcrewed up the ſtrings of the *Harp* too high; inſomuch that the taking off of the Earl of *Straffords* head, may be ſaid to be the ſecond incitement to the *heads* of that inſurrection to ſtirre.

Adde hereunto, that the *Iriſh* underſtanding with what acrimony the Roman Catholicks in *England* were proceeded againſt ſince the ſitting of our Parliament, and what further deſignes were afoot againſt them, and not onely againſt them, but for ranverſing the Proteſtant Religion it ſelfe, as it is now practiſed (which ſome ſhallow-braind Sciſmaticks doe throw into the ſame ſcales with Popery.) They thought it was high time for them to forecaſt what ſhould become of *Them*, & how they ſhould be handled in poynt of conſcience, when a new Deputy of the Parliaments election (*approbation* at leaſt) ſhould come over. Therefore they fell to conſult of ſome meanes of timely prevention: And this was another motive (and it was a ſhrewd one) which puſht on the *Iriſh* to take up Armes.

Laſtly,

Laſily, that Army of 8000. men, which the Earle of *Straſſord* had raiſed to be tranſported to *England* for ſuppreſſing the Scot, being by the advice of our Parliament here, disbanded; the Country was annoyed by ſome of thoſe ſtragling Souldiers, as not one in twenty of the Iriſh, will from the ſword to the ſpade, or from the pike to the plough againe. Therefore the two Marqueſſes that were Ambaſſadours here, then for *Spaine*, having propounded to have ſome numbers of thoſe disbanded forces, for the ſervice of their Maſter; His Majeſty by the mature advice of his privy Counſell, to occurre the miſchiefs that might ariſe to his Kingdom of *Ireland* by thoſe looſe caſheered Souldiers, yeelded to the Ambaſſadours motion, who ſent notice here of to *Spaine* accordingly, and ſo provided ſhipping for their tranſport, and impreſſed mony to advance the buſineſſe; but as they were in the heat of that work, His Majeſty being then in *Scotland*, there was a ſuddē ſtop made of thoſe promiſēd troops, who had depended long upon the Spaniards ſervice, as the Spaniard had done on theirs.

And this was the laſt, though not the leaſt fatall cauſe of that horrid inſurrection: All which particulars well conſidered, it had been no hard matter to have been a Prophet, and ſtanding upon the top of *Holy-Head*, to have foreſeen thoſe black clouds engendring in the Iriſh aire, which broke out afterwards into ſuch fearfull tempeſts of blood.

Out of theſe premiſes, it is eaſie for any common underſtanding, not tranſported with paſſion and private intereſt, to draw this concluſion. That *They* who complied with the Scot in his inſurrection; *They* who diſmiſſed the Iriſh Commiſſioners with ſuch a ſhort *unpolitick* anſwer, *They* who took off the Earle of *Straffords* head, and delayed afterwards the diſpatching of the Earle of *Leiceſter*; *They* who hindered thoſe disbanded troops in *Ireland* to goe for *Spaine*, may be juſtly ſaid to have bin the true cauſes of the late inſurrection of the Iriſh; and conſequently, it is eaſie to know upon the account of whoſe ſoules muſt be laid the blood of thoſe hundred and odde thouſands poore Chriſtians, who periſhed in that war; ſo that had

had it been poſſible to have brought over their bodies unputrified to *England*, and to have caſt them at the doores, and in the preſence of ſome men I beleeve they would have guſhed out afreſh into blood, for diſcovery of the true murtherers.

The grounds of this inſurrection being thus diſcovered, let us examine what meanes His Majeſty uſed for the ſuppreſſion of it. He made his addreſſe preſently to his great Counſell, the Engliſh Parliament then aſſembled, which Queen *Elizabeth* and her progenitors did ſeldome uſe to doe, but onely to their Privy Counſell in ſuch caſes, who had the diſcuſſing and tranſacting of all forreigne affaires; for in mannaging matters of State, ſpecially thoſe of war, which muſt be carried with all the ſecrecy that may be, *Trop grand nombre, eſt encombre*, as the Frenchman ſaith, too great a number of Counſellours may be an incumber, and expoſe their reſults and reſolutions to diſcovery and other diſadvantages, wheras in militry proceedings the work ſhould be afoot before the Counſels be blazed abroad. Well, His Majeſty tranſ-

mitted this buſineſſe to the Parliament of *England*, who totally undertaking it, and wedding as it were the quarrell (as I remember they did that of the *Palatinate* a little before by ſolemne vote; the like was done by the Parliament of *Scotland* alſo, by a publike joynt Declaration, which in regard there came nothing of it, tended little to the honour of either Nation abroad) His Majeſty gave his royall aſſent to any Propoſitions or acts for raiſing of men, mony and armes to performe the work. But hereby no man is ſo ſimple as to think His Majeſty ſhould abſolutely give over his own perſonall care and protection of that his Kingdome, it being a Rule, *That a King can no more deſert the protection of his owne people, then they their ſubjection to him.* In all his Declarations there was nothing that he endeard and inculcated more often, and with greater aggravation and earneſtneſſe unto them, then the care of his poore Subjects their fellow-proteſtants in *Ireland*: Nay, he reſented their conditon ſo farre, and took the buſineſſe ſo to heart, that he offered to paſſe over in perſon for their reliefe:

reliefe : And who can deny but this was a magnanimous and King-like reſolution ? Which the *Scots* by publike act of Counſell, did highly approve of, and declared it to be an argument of care and courage in His Majeſty. And queſtionleſſe it had done infinite good in the opinion of them that have felt the pulſe of the Iriſh people, who are daily ore-heard to groan, how they have bin any time theſe 400. yeeres under the Engliſh Crowne, and yet never ſaw but two of their Kings all the while upō Iriſh ground, though there be but a *ſalt ditch* of a few hours ſail to paſſe over. And much more welcome ſhould His Majeſty, now regnant, be amongſt them, who, by generall *tradition*, *They* confeſſe and hold to come on the paternall ſide from *Fergus* (by legall and lineall deſcent) who was an Iriſh Prince, and after King of *Scotland*, whereas the title of all our former Kings and Queens was ſtumbled at alwayes by the vulger. His Majeſty finding that this royall proffer of engaging his owne perſon, was rejected with a kind of ſcorn, coucht in ſmooth language, though the maine buſineſſe con-

cerned himſelfe neereſt, and indeed ſolely himſelfe, that Kingdome being his owne hereditary Right. Underſtanding alſo, what baſe ſiniſter uſe there was made of this inſurrection by ſome trayterous malevolent perſons, who, to caſt aſperſions upon His Majeſty, and to poyſon the hearts of his people, beſides publike infamous reports, counterfeited certaine commiſſions in His Majeſties name to authorize the buſineſſe, as if he were privy to it, though I dare pawn my ſoul His (or *Her* Majeſty) knew no more of it then the great *Mogor* did. Finding alſo that the Commiſſioners imployed hence for the managing and compoſing matters in that Kingdome, though nominated by the Parliament, and by their recommendation authorized by His Majeſty, did not obſerve their inſtructions, and yet were connived at. Underſtanding alſo, what an inhumane deſigne there was between them and the *Scot*, in lieu of ſuppreſſing an inſurrection to eradicat and extinguiſh a whole Nation to make booty of their lands, (which hopes the *London* Adventurers did hugge, and began to divide the

Beares

Beares skin before he was taken, as His Majeſty told them) an attempt the *Spaniard* nor any other Chriſtian State ever intended againſt the worſt of Savages; The conceit whereof infuſed ſuch a deſperate courage, egerneſſe and valour into the *Iriſh*, that it made them turn *neceſſity* into a kind of *vertue*.

Moreover, His Majeſty taking notice that thoſe royall Subſidies, with other vaſt contributions whereunto he had given way, with the ſums of particular Adventurers (amongſt whom ſome Aliens (*Hollanders*) were taken in, beſides the *Scot*, to ſhare the Country) were miſapplyed, being viſibly imployed, rather to feed an Engliſh Rebellió then to ſuppreſſe an Iriſh: Nay, underſtanding that thoſe charitable collections which were made for the reliefe of thoſe diſtreſſed Proteſtants, who being ſtripped of all their livelihood in *Ireland*, were forced to fly over to *England*, were converted to other uſes, and the Charity not diſpenſed according to the Givers intention. Hearing alſo that thoſe 5000. men which had been levyed and aſſigned to goe under the Lord *Wharton*, the

Lord

Lord of *Kerry*, Sir *Faithfull Forteſcue* and others were diverted from going to the weſt of *Ireland*, and imployed to make up the Earl of *Eſſex* Army : And having notice beſides that the Earl of *Warwicke* had ſtayd certaine ſhips going thither with ſupplies, and that there was an attempt to ſend for over to *England* ſome of thoſe Scottiſh Forces which were in *Ulſter*, without his privity. Laſtly, His Majeſty finding *himſelf* unfitted, and indeed diſabled to reach thoſe his diſtreſſed Subjects, his owne royall *arme* all his navall ſtrength, revenues and magazines being out of his *hands* ; and having as hard a game to play ſtill with the *Scot*, and as perniciousa fire to quench in *England*, as any of his Progenitors ever had : Receiving intelligence alſo daily from his Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry thence, in what a deſperate caſe the whole Kingdome ſtood, together with the report of the Committee that attended His Majeſty from them expreſly for that ſervice, who amongſt other deplorable paſſages in their petition, repreſented, *That all means by which comfort and life ſhould be conveyed unto*

that

that gaſping Kingdome, ſeemed to be totally obſtructed, and that unleſſe timely reliefe were afforded, His loyall Subjects there muſt yeeld their fortunes for a prey, their liues for a ſacrifice, and their Religion for a ſcorne to the mercileſſe Rebels.

His Majeſty (as it was high time for him) taking into his Princely thoughts thoſe wofull complaints and cryes of his poore Subjects, condeſcended at laſt to appoint ſome perſons of honour to heare what the Iriſh could ſay for themſelves, as they had often petitioned; and God forbid but the King of *Ireland* ſhould receive his Subjects petitions, as well as the King of *Scotland*. But His Majeſty being unſatisfied with what they propounded then, the Lord Marqueſſe of *Ormond* marched with cõſiderable Forces againſt them, and though he came off with honour, yet no reliefe at all cõming thither for many moneths after from the Parliament here, who had undertaken the buſineſſe, and had received all the ſummes and ſubſidies, with other unknown contributions to that end, matters grew daily worſe and worſe. To ſum up all, His Majeſty receiving expreſſe and poſitive

advice from his Lord Juſtices and Counſell of State there, that the whole Kingdome was upon poynt of utter perdition, which was co-intimated the ſame time to the Parliament here, by a ſpeciall letter to the *Speaker*; I ſay His Majeſty finding that he had neither power of himſelfe, it being tranſmitted to others; and that thoſe Truſtees did miſapply that power and truſt he had inveſted in them (for the time) to make good their undertaking for preſervation of that his fruitfull Kingdome; being impelled by all theſe forcible reaſons, His Majeſty ſent a commiſſion to the Lord Marqueſſe of *Ormond* his Lieutenant Generall (a moſt known ſincere Proteſtant) to hearken to a treaty according to their petition; and if any thing was amiſſe in that treaty in poynt of honour (as it ſhall appeare by comparing it with others, there was none) we know whom to thank. For out of theſe premiſes alſo, doth reſult this ſecond concluſion. That they who *miſapplied thoſe moneys, and miſ-imployed thoſe men* which were levyed with His Majeſties royall aſſent for the reduction of *Ireland*: They who ſet afoot that moſt ſangumary deſigne of extir-

pating,

pating, at leaſt of *enſlaving* a whole ancient Nation, who were planted there by the hand of Providence from the beginning: They who hindred His Majeſties *transfretation* thither to take cognizance of his own affairs and expoſe the countenance of His own royall perſon for compoſing of things: They, They may be ſaid to be the true cauſes of that unavoidable neceſſity (and as the heathen Poet ſings, *The Gods themſelves cannot reſiſt Neceſſity*) which enforced His Majeſty to capitulate with the Iriſh, and aſſent to a Ceſſation.

It was the ſaying of one of the braveſt Roman Emperours, and it was often uſed by *Henry* the *Great* of *France*, Her Majeſties Father, *That he had rather ſave the life of one loyall Subject then kill a hundred Enemies*: It may well be thought that one of the prevalentſt inducements that moved His Majeſty (beſides thoſe formerly mentioned) to condeſcend to this Iriſh Ceſſation, was a ſenſe he had of the effuſion of his owne poor Subjects blood, the hazard of the utter extirpation of the Proteſtants there, and a totall irrecoverable loſſe of that Kingdome, as was

advertiſed both in the petition of the Proteſtants themſelves, the relation of the Committee imployed thither to that purpoſe, and the expreſſe letters of the Lord Juſtices and Counſell there.

To prove now, that this Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland* was more honourable and fuller of Piety, Prudence and Neceſſity, then either the Pacification or Peace with the *Scot.* I hope, theſe few enſuing arguments (above divers others which cannot be inſerted here, in regard of the fore intended brevity of this Diſcourſe) will ſerve the turne.

1. *Imprimis*, When the *Pacification* was made with *Scotland*, His Majeſty was there perſonally preſent, attended on by the floure of His Engliſh Nobility, Gentry and Servants, and the enemy was hard by ready to face Him. At the concluding of the Iriſh Ceſſation, His Majeſty was not there perſonally preſent, but it was agitated and agreed on by his *Commiſſioner*, and it hath been held alwayes leſſe diſhonourable for a King to capitulate in this kind with his owne Subjects by his Deputy, then in his owne perſon, for the further off he is, the leſſe reflects upon him.

2. Upon

2. Upon the Pacification and Peace with *Scotland*, there was an Amneſtia, a generall pardon, and an abolition of all by-paſſed offences publiſhed, there were honours and offices conferred upon the chiefeſt ſticklers in the War. At the Ceſſation in *Ireland* there was no ſuch thing.

3. When the Pacification and Peace was made with the *Scots*, there was mony given unto *Them*, as it is too well knowne. But upon the ſetling of this Ceſſation, the Iriſh gave His Majeſty a conſiderable ſumme as an argument of their ſubmiſſion and gratitude, beſides the maintainance of ſome of his Garriſons in the interim; and ſo much partly in poynt of honour.

4. At the concluding of the Pacification and Peace with *Scotland*, there was a vigorous freſh, unfoiled Engliſh Army afoot, and in perfect equipage; there wanted neither Ammunition, Armes, Money, Cloaths, Victuals or any thing that might put heart into the Souldier and elevate his ſpirits. But the Proteſtant Army in *Ireland* had not any of all theſe in any competent proportion, but were ready to periſh, though there had been

no other enemy then hunger and cold: And this implies a farre greater neceſſity for the ſaid Ceſſation.

5. In *Ireland* there was imminent danger of an inſtant loſſe of the whole Kingdome, and conſequently, the utter ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Religion there, as was certified both to King & Parliament by ſundry letters & petitions which ſtand upon record: There was no ſuch danger in the affairs of *Scotland*, either in reſpect of Religion or Kingdome; therefore there was more piety ſhown in preſerving the one, and prudence in preſerving the other in *Ireland*, by plucking both (as it were) out of the very jawes of deſtruction by the ſaid Ceſſation.

We know that *in the Medley of mundane caſualties, of two evils, the leaſt is to be choſen*, and a ſmall inconvenience is to be borne withall, to prevent a greater.

If one make reſearch into the French Story, he will find, that many kinds of Pacifications and Suſpenſions of Armes were covenanted twixt that King and ſome of his Subjects, trenching farre more upon regall dignity then this in *Ireland*. The Spaniard

was

was forced to declare the Hollanders *Free-ſtates*, before they could be brought to treat of a truce: And now the *Catalans* ſcrew him up almoſt to as high conditions. But what need I rove abroad ſo far? It is well known, nor is it out of the memory of man, that in *Ireland* it ſelfe there have been Ceſſations, all circumſtances well weighed, more prejudiciall to Majeſty then this.

But that which I heare murmured at moſt as the effect of this Ceſſation, is the tranſport of ſome of thoſe Souldiers to *England* for recruting His Majeſties Armies, though the greateſt number of them be perfect and rigid Proteſtants, and were thoſe whom our Parliament it ſelfe imployed againſt the Iriſh. But put caſe they were all *Papiſts*, muſt His Majeſty therefore be held a Favourer of popery? The late King of *France* might have been ſaid as well to have been a Favourer of *Proteſtants*, becauſe in all his wars he imployed *Them* moſt of any in places of greateſt truſt, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; whereas all the World knows, that he perfectly hated them in the generall, and one of the reaches of policy, he had, was to ſpend and waſte them

them in the warres. Was it ever knowne but a Soveraigne Prince might uſe the bodies & ſtrength of his own naturall-born Subjects, and Liege men for his owne defence? When His perſon hath been ſought and aimed at in open field by ſmall and great ſhot, and all other Engines of hoſtility and violence: When he is in danger to be ſurprized or beſieged in that place where he keeps his Court: When all the flowers of his Crowne (his royall prerogatives which are deſcended upō him from ſo many ſucceſſive progenitors) are like to be plucked off and trampled under foot? When there is a viſible plot to alter and overturn that Religion he was born, baptized & bred in: When he is in danger to be forced to infringe that ſolemn Sacramentall Oath he took at his Coronation to maintain the ſaid Religion, with the Rights & Rites of the holy Anglican *Church*, which ſome brain-ſick Eſſmaticks would tranſform to a *Kirk* and her Diſcipline, to ſome chimericall forme of government they know not what. *Francis* the firſt, and other Chriſtian Princes, made uſe of the *Turke* upon leſſe occaſions; and if one may make uſe of a Horſe, or any other brute animall,

animall, or any inanimat Engine or Inſtrument for his owne defence againſt man, much more may man be uſed againſt man, much more may one rationall Creature be uſd againſt another though for deſtructive ends in a good cauſe, ſpecially when they are cõmanded by a Soveraigne head, which is the maine thing that goes to juſtifie a warre. Now touching the Roman Catholicks, whether *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, or *Scottiſh*, which repair to His Majeſties armies either for ſervice or ſecurity, He looks not upon them as Papiſts, but as his Subjects, not upõ their Religion, but their alleagiance, and in that quality he entertaines them: Nor can the Papiſt be denied the Character of a *good Subject*, all the while he conformes himſelfe to the Lawes in generall, & to thoſe lawes alſo that are particularly enacted againſt him, & ſo keeps himſelf within the bounds of his civil obedience. As long as he continues ſo, he may challenge protection from his Prince by way of right, and if his Prince by ſome accident be not in ſtate to protect him, he is to give him leave to defend himſelfe the beſt he can, for the law of

nature allowes every one to defend himſelfe, and there is no poſitive law of man can annull the law of nature. Now if the *Subject* may thus claime protection from his *Prince*, it followeth, the *Prince* by way of reciprocation may require aſſiſtance, ſervice and ſupplies from the *Subject* upon all publike occaſions, as to ſuppreſſe at this time a new race of *Recuſants*, which have done more hurt then ever the *old* did, and are like to prove more dangerous to His Crowne and regall Authority then any forraigne enemy.

But whoſoever will truly obſerve the genious, and trace the actions of this fatall Faction which now ſwayes with that boundleſſe, exorbitant, arbitrary and Antinomian power, will find, that it is one of their prime peeces of policy, to traduce and falſifie any thing that is not conducible to their owne ends: Yet what comes from *Them* muſt be ſo magiſteriall, it muſt be ſo unqueſtionably and incontroulably true and lawfull, that it muſt be beleeved with an implicite faith, as proceeding from an in-erring Oracle (as if theſe Zealots were above the common condition

dition of mankind, to whom errour is as hereditary as any other infirmity) though the thing it ſelfe encroach never ſo groſly both upon the common liberty, the ſtates and ſoules of men. But if any thing beare the ſtamp of royall Authority, be it never ſo juſt and tending to peace and the publike good, yea, though it be indifferent to either ſide, it is preſently countermanded, cryed down, and ſtifled; or it is calumniated and aſperſed with obloquies, falſe gloſſes and miſpriſions; and this is become now the common Theam wherewith their Pulpits ring.

Which makes me think, that theſe upſtart politicians have not long to reigne; for, as the common Proverb ſaith, *Fraud and froſt end foule, and are ſhort lived*, ſo that policy, thoſe Counſels which are grounded upon ſcandals, reproaches and lyes, will quickly mouldet & totter away, and bring their Authors at laſt to deſerved infamy and ſhame, and make them find a Tombe in their owne ruines. Adde hereunto as further badges of their nature, that black irreconcilable malice and deſire of revenge which rageth in

them, the averſneſſe they have to any ſweetneſſe of Conformity and Union, the violent thirſt they have of blood, which makes me think on that diſtique of *Prudentius*, who ſeemed to be a *Prophet* as well as *Poet* (a true *Vates*) in diſplaying the humours of theſe fiery Dogmatiſts, this all-confounding faction which now hath the vogue, to the *puniſhment*, I will not ſay yet, the *perdition* of this poore Iſland.

Sic mores produnt animum, & mihi credite, junctus
Semper cum falſo eſt dogmate cædis amor.

Thus in Engliſh:
Manners betray the mind, and credit me,
That's alwayes thirſt of blood with Hereſie.

FINIS.

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THE PARLIAMENT SCOVT:

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From Thursday the 20. of June, to Thursday the 27. of June. 1644.

THe first thing that was newes to us since our last, was that his Majestie was gone from *Oxford* again, it were to be desired that we might rather drive on the destruction of his powers, which done his person will be ours, and why not for good? the enemy jeers us for hunting our Soveraigne, let us give them no such cause, let us hunt the weale of his Majestie in destroying his enemies, had he hunted with no worse intent, it had been more to his honour, and in so doing, he had taken the example of his father in hunting, and not of *Nimrod*, but we leave him to his progresse, time may shew him that the glory of a King is in multitude of people.

This day we had a rumour of some losse before *Yorke*, which the *Royall* party in *London* had before us, and well they may, for they are at more cost for Intelligence then we, they do not starve their Cause: this blow be-

before *Yorke* was fomented by thoſe that knew not the truth, to a reliefe of the City, raiſing the Siege, beating the Scots fifteen miles, with much more: but *Friday* we underſtood by Letters that the matter was much leſſe, and the truth thus repreſented to us, a Mine was ready to be ſprung in the Quarter of my Lord *Mancheſter*, the Commander in chiefe in that buſineſſe (whom we have heard commended to the skies) he (if we may without diſtaſte to any ſpeak in the way of a Souldier) ſhould have acquainted the Commanders in chiefe, they ſhould by a Counſell of warre have reſolved to aſſault, enſlat, or ſtorme in ſeverall places, have had a party of commanded men to have entred the breach, in caſe the ſpring ſucceeded, have had Cannon charged with ſmall ſhot, and have diſtracted the City, and mazed them, which had the Generalls known, had beene done, the City had been taken, and the worke ended; however it may be this may fright them into more moderate termes, then in their laſt Treaty, which as we underſtood *Saturday*, were ſo high and abſurd, that he that had been preſent would have thought my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Lord *Finch*, and Juſtice *Barkley* had been the Commiſſioners, and that the caſe had been ſuch, as when *Canterbury* ſate in the High Commiſſion, *Finch* in Star-Chamber, and *Barkley* at the Aſſizes at *Hartford*, for they would neither read at large, nor ſuffer to be read their own demands, nor accept to hear or take in with them our demands, which Generall *Leſley* underſtanding, ſent in the Propoſition with a Drum to my Lord *Newcaſtle* (who had more to looſe, its probable more braines then his Commiſsioners, his Lordſhip returned anſwer that he was deſirous to do any thing honourably, but thoſe demands were ſuch as he could in no kinde condiſcend unto: as for the action ar ſpringing of the Mine, it was performed bravely by thoſe that firſt entered, and though never ſeconded, made good the fight ſome houres, which is little leſſe then a miracle, the power of the Town being no otherway buſied, bending all againſt them, and that which makes cleare to us the poſsibility of getting that City, thoſe that were within at the blowing up of the wall, laid downe their Armes, and cried Quarter; there were two hundred ſlaine, and taken priſoners of our men.

This day we underſtood that Prince *Rupert* was going a by way to *Yorke* (if he intended the raiſing that Siege) for he was going over from *Leverpoole*, as was conceived to *Cheſter* ward, and *Goring* after him, in which action the latter had ſome loſſe; how this going about will pleaſe the *Royall* party we know not, they looking upon the taking or not taking *Yorke*, as the loſſe or gaining the garland to his Majeſtie, or rather our enemies the Papiſts, &c.

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The ſame day my Lord *Generall* acquainted the Houſes with his condition in the Weſt, of his being in *Waymouth*, of his being poſſeſt of a great many Ordnance, thouſands of Armes, 120. barrels of powder, ſixteen Fats of match, by the yeilding of *Waymouth* without ſtroke, and the ſtanding out of *Lime*, we may take a ſcantling of the diſpoſition of the Weſt, and the poſſibility of gaining it.

His Excellency gives waity reaſons why he deſires to continue in the Weſt: Firſt the Townes lately taken and relieved muſt be made good, which cannot be done he returning, the enemy being neer them and numerous.

Secondly, all other parts are in the poſſeſſion of his inferiours by Aſſociation, with other reaſons.

This day the houſe of Commons did Vote the income of the new Scots, who conceived it neceſſary to have the call of an Ordinance.

We had ſome ſhips taken out of an harbour in *Suffolke*, with divers Letters and ſome Plate, two of the ſhips were got again by a Dutch man of Warre.

Sunday, and *Monday* we were almoſt overcome with feares of the Kings powers, who ſaid our Intelligence, were twenty thouſand, and then ten thouſand, at laſt ſix thouſand, and theſe were one while at *Buckingham*, then at *Hitchin*, then at *Dunſtable*, then at *Bedford*, then almoſt at *Cambridge*, then beſieging *Newport-pannell*, then ſome where, and then no where; the truth is, ſome Forces came to continue the old trade of taking men, Plundering houſes, recruting, and are like to doe as Colonell *Goring* did in *Leiceſterſhire*, grew from a broken tottered deſpicable power to a brave number, but to prevent this, the County of *Hartford* riſe, and go to make good the paſſages, they in *Bedfordſhire*, get to *Bedford*, thoſe of the reſt of the Counties in the Aſſociation gather alſo, and Colonell *Browne* goes with his power, but by that time they

are bodied, its like the enemy will go back to *Oxford* again; two thousand horse, and a thousand Dragoones well exercised, and appointed alwayes ready to defend the Frontiers on this side *Thames*, might keepe the Counties from great trouble and charge, and be a greater terrour to these Caterpillars, then all their numerous and chargeable powers.

This day we heard as if Prince *Rupert* with part of his power was gone towards *Yorke*, which though the Author be of good credit, yet we cannot concur with him, for the Prince its probable understanding of so great a power comming against him, as we could name, in all amounting with those now in and neer *Manchester* to above twenty thousand would not devide his powers, nor leave his securities; the Lord of *Denbigh* is not far from *Manchester*.

We understood this day, that the Earle of *Leicester* was taken by some of the Souldiers of *Warwick*.

Sir *William Waller* tooke a Colonell going to *Worcester*: he was as by Letters we the same day understand, not following the Kings forces at the heeles, but bended Westward, thinking his Majestie would go from *Oxford* to *Bristoll*.

This day severall Letters mention the ten thousand new Scots being in England, and in probability neere *Newcastle*, what they will attempt time will shew, however we are glad they are come, for it may be we may by their comming subdue the North parts.

Leverpoole and *Chester* we will leave the Prince for free intercourse and passage, between his dear friends the Rebels, and his Popish Army.

Tuesday Letters from my Lord Generalls Army tells us that he is as farre as *Axmouth*, which [illegible] betweene *Excester* and *Lime*, being invited by them of *Lime* to come forward: we hope we shall be Master of *Excester*, and all the Westerne parts suddenly, except *Bristoll*, and that we

may

may be before that, by Saint *James* his day: my Lord *Roberts*, we hope shall have that so much desired imployment by all his friends: *viz.* a party to go for *Cornwall*, to restore to their possessions the friends of the Parliament, and to repaire his owne losses out of the lands of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *Bevill Greenvile* the two great fire brands of that County.

This day the house of Commons considered how great a trouble and inconvenience it would be for my Lord Generall so farre gone West to returne, agreed to have him go forward, and make what speed he can in subduing the West, divers West Country men Petitioning the same, and agreed to send him twenty thousand pound for the present, till more could come.

Sir *William Waller* sent Letters this day, they amount to this, that he was within two miles of *Glocester Saturday*, that he expected a thousand men from Colonell *Massey*, but they could not be spared, it may be they had no minde to go out of the West, supposing Sir *William* would have gone on there, he desires supplies; and understanding that his Majesties powers were recruting in *Buckinghamshire*, both money, goods and horses, and how mightily the people were perplexed and spoiled, he makes all the hast he can this way, and we believe was this *Tuesday* night not farre short of *Oxford*, if not on this side of it, if the powers that Major Generall *Browne* get together and joyne with him, he will be able to sit downe before *Oxford*, and it may be put a fire for it, for if the discontents were such when his Majestie was there before, that the Souldiers laid downe their Armes, and would not stir without money, what will they do now? unlesse his

plundering bout ſtop their mouthes for a while.

We ſhould tell you of the comming in of Serjeant *Glanvile*, and others that are come in to the Parliament: when my Lord Generall is ſo farre Weſt, we will not thanke the Weſt Country Lawyers for their returne, they that went thorow with us, are thoſe that we muſt honour.

The Malignants as they are called make a great complaint that Sir *Edward Deering* died for want of food, ſo cruell was the Parliament to him ſay they, but their mouthes are no ſlander, and if the Parliament ſhould have been as harſh to him, as their party have been to ſome of ours, yet ſure being at Liberty his own credit would have kept him alive, and if not, their charity might.

A Poſt from *York Tueſday* night brings word that the Earle of *Culander*, and the Marquiſſe of *Argile* are for certain upon their march, we hope they will as all the reſt of our forces bend their power to deſtroy the enemy in the field, and theſe new powers with others we named before, may all no doubt be able to encounter Prince *Rupert* though 8000. horſe, and 6000. foot, it alſo confirmes the poſſibility of taking *York*, when the Mine took, had the aſſault been generall, and it ſeemes it muſt be forſt if had; for corne is as cheape in *York* as it is in the Leaguer, and cheaper.

Its affirmed that the deſigne of one that was lately in the North, was to make Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and Independants the common enemy, and this worthy Favourit, was not aſhamed without a Licence from the Biſhop, onely ſent by the brethren to preach this doctrine to Generall *Leſley*, who told him he knew no common enemy, but Papiſts, and Atheiſts: we may

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by this deſigne of his in the North eaſily gueſſe the deſignes elſwhere, and whats driven on, and how needfull it is to look about us; when our enemies formerly in the Biſhops dayes would root out Religion, and Liberties, and introduce Popery, and Tyranny, they made the Common enemy the Puritan, the Puritan that alway ſtood up in oppoſition to all innovations in Church and State: this ſtrickt Proteſtant that will not ſwear, lie, whore, drink, that hath bin deprived of all in all places where the Kings power hath come, torne, ſpoiled, and forſt to flie from place to place, and to live in dens, and caves, muſt now be made the Common enemy, and for venturing all for the Proteſtant Religion, upon all occaſion be ſtruck to the heart, and rooted out of the Kingdom, under the name of Browniſt, Separatiſt, Independant, Anabaptiſt, and we know not what names: Reader obſerve this Ambaſſadour, and his drift, and whoſe language concurs with this in *London* and elſewhere, ſee how joyntly our beloved ones joyne with the Royall party in a new deſigne to ſet up old dayes again, and let thoſe alſo that are of theſe opinions, weigh well how little ground, if any in Scripture, there is for theſe, and how diſadvantagious to themſelves, and all other Proteſtants, theſe opinions are, and advantagious to the Papiſts, and other Common enemies, and to be think themſelves to cloſe with the honeſt Calviniſt and Scot, and go on unanimouſly againſt the common enemy, and theſe unthankfull creatures will have their mouthes ſtopt.

The horſe forces of Coll. *Cromwell*, Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, and others are drawn to *Rippon*, by which way ſome thinke the Prince may attempt to relieve *York*; but we hope our horſe and the new Scots forces wilbe joyned before that, and our other powers alſo. We had at that unhappy encounter, at the ſpringing the Mine, but twenty ſlaine out right, they took priſoners of ours one Major, 4. Captains, 4. Lieutenants, fifteen or 16. Corporals, and Serjeants, and 200. Common men.

Letters

Letters from the West *Wednesday* tell us, that my Lord Goring is at *Chard*, and the Army of Prince *Maurice* at *Hunitor*, and that his Excellency hath re-enforct that brave Town of *Lime* with 500. and those he had thence are in *Weimouth*; he wants money, but is courage, he went towards the enemy to keep Sir *Ralph Hopton* from associating the Countries, which he was about, which my Lo: Generall will now do: some small encounters have happened between parties by Land and by Sea, a Ship hath been taken worth neere 20000. li. all the fastest friends of the Parliament (would to God they were thought so) as sure as the enemy thinkes them their only enemies) we mean the Religious party, that the Northern Incendiary will have to be the common enemy) betake themselves to *Lime*, *Weimouth*, and other places of strength, and intend to live together, trade together, fight together, and die together. The noble Earle of *Newport* is come to my Lo: Generall, and divers other Lords, let it be observed how many horse or foot they bring in with them to augment our Army, so well beloved, that not a man attends any of them: It goes for a truth, and hath done many yeares, that the Jesuits send out every yeare divers papist Priests, who are directed to turne Protestants, and these must preach a middle way between the Papist and the Puritan, lest the Protestant should fall into the extreame, we will not apply this in the civill affaires of England.

We had a rumour this day, that the enemy had plundered *Watford*, but it was a mistake.

We heare of brave powers that are comming out of *Essex*, *Suffolke*, and other parts of the Association, and we hope they will not returne untill they have got *Oxford*, and so they shall not need to feare any more incursions, which is far better then to go backwards and forwards, and be subject to these continuall alarmes: So unanimous are the people, and forward to advance, that its conceived neere 16000. will come to the generall rendezvous, who with Sir *William Wallers* power now returned, no doubt will put faire for *Oxford*; all the *Essex* Musquetiers go on horseback, and indeed the Counties do well to help *London* at this time, for they are so many of them abroad, that to take more, were to undoe the City: how can they pay taxes, when their servants are taken away, who shall earne bread; take the plow and the horses away, and who shall till the ground, pay the rent, and other impositions?

We heare that Sir *William Waller* hath lighted upon some Troopes of the Kings horse, and taken five Troopes, a good beginning, if true.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

19

AN

ORDINANCE

OF THE

Lords and Commons

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT.

TO

Appoint and Enable Committees in the severall Counties of *Buckingham*, *Oxon*, and *Berks*, to put in Execution this present Ordinance, and severall other Ordinances of both Houses of *Parliament*.

ORdered by the Commons Assembled in Parliament that this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published.

Henry Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for *Edward Husbands*, and are to be sold at his shop in the Middle-Temple. Iune 27. 1644.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, to Appoint and enable Committees in the ſeverall Counties of Buckingham, Oxon, *and* Berks, *to put in execution this preſent Ordinance, and ſeverall other Ordinances of both Houſes of Parliament.*

FOr the better Execution of the Orders and Ordinances of Parliament in the ſeverall Counties of *Berks*, *Buckingham*, and *Oxon*, and for the Raiſing of Money and Forces within the ſaid Counties for ſuppreſſing the Rebels there, and for the maintenance of all ſuch Garriſons within the ſaid Counties, as are, or ſhall be Erected by Authority of Parliament for the better defence of the ſame: The Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, do hereby Conſtitute and Appoint,

Berk. For the County of Berks, *William Lenthall* Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, and Master of the Rolls, Sir *Francis Knollis*, Knight, sir *Francis Pile*, Baronet, sir *Robert Pye*, Senior, sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, *Richard Whitehead*, *Edmund Dunch*, *Henry Martin*, *Peregrine Hobby*, *Tanfield Vachell*, *Daniel Blagrave*, Sergeant Major Generall *Richard Browne*, *William Ball*, *John Packer* senior, *Robert Packer*, and *Cornelius Holland*.

Buckingham For the County of Buckingham, *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Wenman*, sir *Peter Temple* Knight and Baronet, *Richard Winwood*, *Bulstrode Whitlock* Esquire, sir *William Andrews*, sir *Richard Pigott*, and sir *William Cobb*, Knights, *Isaack Pennington* Lieutenant of the Tower, *George Fleetwood* Esq; sir *Richard Ingelsby* knight, *Anthony Radcliff*, *Thomas Lane*, *Thomas Fountaine*, *Edward Woodward*, *Peter Dormer*, *Richard Sergeant*, *Henry Beake*, *Anthony Carpenter*, *Symond Mayne*, *Edmund West*, *Thomas White*, *Thomas Ayres*, *Thomas Scot*, *John Potter*, *Thomas Ligoe*, *John Lane*, *William Theed* of Craston, *Thomas Wheeler*, *John Doylie*, sir *Gilbert Gerard* Baronet, *Christopher Henn*, *Thomas Wyan*, and *John Barringer* Gent. and Major Generall *Richard Browne*.

Oxon. For the County of Oxon, *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Wenman*, *William Lenthall*, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Master of the Roles, *James Fines*, *John Fines* Esquires, Sir *Peter Temple*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *William Cobb*, Knight, *John Doylie*, *Thomas Knight*, *William Typping*, *Robert Scrope*, *Edward Clerke*, *Edmund Dunch*, and *Bulstrode Whitlocke* Esquires, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Knight of the Bathe, Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, Knight, and Sergeant Major Generall *Richard Browne*; To be Committees of Parliament for the said severall Counties respectively. And do hereby authorize them, or any three of them respectively, to put in execution within the said severall and respective Counties, the severall Ordinances of Parliament ensuing (*viz.*) The Ordinance for voluntarie Loanes, and Contributions to the Parliament, the Ordinance for Weekely Assessements,

Aſſeſſements; The Ordinance for the fifth and Twentieth part, The Ordinance for the Sequeſtration of Papiſts and deſinquents Eſtates, according to the true meaning of the ſaid Ordinances. And the ſaid Committees of the ſeverall Counties, or any three or more of them reſpectively, ſhall have power within their ſeverall Counties to Aſſeſſe, Taxe and Levie, or cauſe to be Aſſeſſed, Taxed, and Levied, upon the ſaid Counties what ſumme, or ſummes of money, they ſhall thinke the ſaid Counties are ſeverally able to pay, not exceeding four hundred pounds a weeke, upon any one of the ſaid Counties, with ſuch power for the Aſſeſſing, Leavying and Collecting the ſame, and with ſuch allowances as by the Ordinance of the weekly aſſeſſement is provided. And it is hereby declared that the ſeverll ſummes of money, Raiſed or to bee Raiſed within the ſaid Counties, And alſo all ſuch ſummes of money as ſhall be hereafter raiſed within the ſaid ſeverall Counties by vertue of the Ordinances of Exciſe, be received and diſpoſed of, for the raiſing and maintaining of all ſuch Forces, as are or ſhall be raiſed for the reducing, and defence of the ſeverall Counties aforeſaid. And it is further Ordained and Declared, that the ſeverall Committees, or the Major part of them, within their ſeverall Counties reſpectively, ſhall appoint a Treaſurer who ſhall receive all ſuch monies as ſhall be Aſſeſſed, and Collected within the ſaid Counties reſpectively, and ſhall from time to time iſſue out ſuch monies for the neceſſary uſes of the ſaid Counties, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, as any three or more of the Committees of the ſaid Counties reſpectively, ſhall by the vote of the Major part of the reſpective Committees, or of any three of them then preſent order; and ſhall by writing under their hands appoint, and not otherwiſe. And it is alſo Ordained that every Collector, ſhall have foure pence in the pound for every ſumme of money by him Collected and paid to the Treaſurer, and alſo two pence in the pound ſhall be allowed to the Treaſurer for all monies by him received and iſſued out by Warrant as aforeſaid. And be it Ordained that the ſaid Committees, or any three of them reſpectively, ſhall have power from time to time, to aſſigne, and by their ſeverall Miniſters and Officers, to cut and take ſufficient Timber, ſtanding, or being upon the lands

lands of Papists or Delinquents for the making of Fortifications in such Towns and places of any of the said Counties, as by three or more of the Committees of every of the said Counties respectively shall be thought fit, expressing the same by warrant under their hands.

And be it further Ordained that the Committees of the said Counties or any three of them respectively, shall hereby have Power and Authority from time to time to Demand and take an Account of all Musters that shall be made by the severall Commissaries of the said Counties, And that every Captain both of Horse and Foote, and every other Superiour or Inferiour Officer, whose pay comes to ten shillings a day, or above, shall take but halfe the pay due unto him, and respit the other halfe upon the Publique Faith, untill the War shall be ended; and every Officer, whose pay commeth to five shillings a day or more; and under Ten shilling a day, shall accept of two parts of three, of such pay due unto him, and respit the other third part upon the Publique Faith, untill the Warre be ended. And when there is three Moneths pay due unto any of them, a Certificate thereof under the hands of the said Committees, or any three of them respectively shalbe a sufficient warrant to such Officer to demand & receive the said Monies owing upon the Publique Faith as aforesaid.

And be it further Ordained that Nine, or more of the Committees aforesaid, whereof three at least of every of the said Counties respectively, shall have power to Assemble themselves together, as often as they shall thinke fit, to advise and direct all things that they shall think fit for the more speedy and effectuall execution of this Ordinance, in all or any of the said Counties.

And be it likewise ordained that the Committees of the said severall and respective Counties, or any five or more of them respectively, shall have power to secure the persons of all dangerous delinquents residing in the said severall Counties, and to call before them, or any five or more of them respectively all Ministers, and Schoole-masters that are scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or that have diserted their Cures, or ordinary places of residence, not having a sufficient ground

ground for their abſence; and they or any five or more of them reſpectively ſhall have power to examine any complaint againſt them, upon the Oathes of ſuch perſons as ſhall or may be produced to give evidence againſt them; and the ſaid Committees, or any five of them reſpectively, ſhall have power to adminiſter ſuch Oath accordingly, and ſhall have power (upon proofe of their delinquency) to remove ſuch as they or any five or more of them reſpectively ſhall judge unfit for their places, and ſequeſter their Eſtates and Revenues, and to place other well qualified perſons in their roome, ſuch as ſhall be approved by three godly and learned Divines, reſiding in any of the ſaid Counties reſpectively.

And be it ordained that the ſaid Committees, and every one of them reſpectively, and every other perſon or perſons, that ſhall be ayding or aſſiſting to them, or any of them reſpectively in the doing or executing any thing by vertue of this Ordinance, ſhall be defended and ſaved harmeleſſe therein by authority of both Houſes of Parliament. And be it further ordained that the ſaid Committees in the ſaid ſeverall Counties, or any three or more of them reſpectively in each ſeverall County, ſhall have power to adminiſter the Nationall Covenant to ſuch perſon or perſons as they ſhall thinke fit; and to ſend up all ſuch as ſhall refuſe to take the ſame Covenant unto the Committees of Parliament for Examinations, to be proceeded againſt as the ſaid Committee of Examinations ſhall thinke fit.

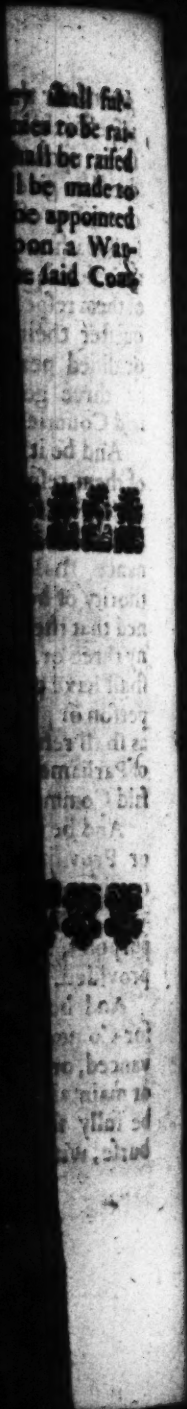
And be it further ordained, that there ſhall not any Monies, or Proviſion be raiſed in any of the ſaid Counties during the continuance of this Ordinance, by vertue of any former Ordinance or Order, other then ſuch as ſhall be imployed for the purpoſes, and in ſuch manner as in this preſent Ordinance is provided.

And be it further ordained, that the perſons herein named for Committees, or any other perſon or perſons who have advanced, or ſhall advance any Horſes, Plate, Armes, or Money, or maintaine any ſouldiers, Horſe or Foote for this ſervice, ſhall be fully ſatisfied and repaid all ſuch monies as they ſhall diſburſe, with intereſt after the rate of eight pound *per cent.* and

the

the value of such Horses, Plate, and Armes, as they shall furnish and maintaine for this service, out of the monies to be raised by the new Excise, and out of such monies as shall be raised by vertue of this Ordinance; which payments shall be made to them by such Treasurer or Treasurers that shall be appointed for the severall Counties aforesaid respectively, upon a Warrant given to that purpose, by three or more of the said Committees in each County respectively.

FINIS.



20

A Trumpeter sent from the Queen to the L. General
The E. of Newport come to the L. Admirall.
His Excellency toward Exeter advanced.
Fifteen thousand men in Essex in readinesse to be raised.

Numb. 57

Mercurius Civicus.
LONDONS
INTELLIGENCER:
OR,
Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome, to prevent mis-information.

from Thursday June 20. to Thursday June 27. 1644.

I Shall hereafter endeavour (as neere as I can be credibly informed) in this weekly intelligence more especially to attend and relate the proceedings of the ever-renowned Major-generall *Browne*, and the City Auxiliaries, and other forces of the Counties of Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham, under his command. Munday-night last, *June* 22. they kept their head-quarters

quarters at Barnet, and the remainder were quartered in the Townes adjacent.

Tuesday morning there came Letters from that constant and faithfull patriot Captaine *Wingate* to the Committee for Hartfordshire, in which he informed them, that there were some parties of the Kings forces had faced Newport-pannell and Alisbury on the Lords day last; and that when they came by Newport-pannell the valiant Governour thereof Sir *Samuel Luke* sent divers volleys of great shot after them; since which he then heard that they were comming toward Hartfordshire, and the parts adjacent. That the said Cap. *Wingate* was then at Hitchin, at which Towne and at the parts thereabouts there were about 10000 of the forces of Hartfordshire, and a great party out of Middlesex joyned with them; and therefore he desired, that he might have some Ordnance and other field-pieces sent unto him, that he might be the better enabled to march forward to oppose them in case they should come that way; whereupon it was intended that Major-generall *Browne* should march that night towards St. Albanes, where a great part of the Trained-bands and others of that County are also gathered together for to resist the Cavaliers. The said Major-generall carries with him two pieces of Demi-cannon, and about 15 other Field-pieces; so that upon his joyning with Captaine *Wingates* forces they will have a considerable body (through the assistance of the Almighty) to cleare the Counties of Hartford, Bedford, and Buckingham from those plundering Cavaliers who have already made some spoile in those parts.

His Majesty and the Prince with about 6000 horse and foot and 12 field-pieces went out of Oxford the latter end of the last weeke, which were afterwards divided into severall parties, in some not above 3 or 400 in a company, and in some lesse. On the Lords day last a party of the Kings horse (about 3 Troopes came into Dunstable at the instant when the Minister in the Towne was in the Pulpit; where comming into the Church made a great disturbance in the congregation, and discharged 3 Pistols at the Minister, which (through Divine providence) did all misse him; but they afterward drag'd him out of the Church and used much cruelty towards him, and divers inhabitants of the Towne, who they thought were well-

well affected to the Parliament. And afterwards they came to the house of one Mr. *Plott* an Inne-keeper, of whom they demanded some horses for his Majesties service, but he denying that he had any, one of them immediately shot him through the belly, whereof he is since dead. The like mischiefes they did at market street, and also at Dedington, where we heare the King and Prince lay on Saturday night last, and went thence, (passing though Hockley in the hole) towards Bedford.

A Thousand Horse and Dragoones of the E. of Manchesters in Lincolnshire are to draw up this way in case the enemy should endeavour to make into the Associated Counties and the Counties of Northampton, Warwicke, and Leicester will contribute a proportionable strength to oppose them. These with the aforesaid forces of Major-generall *Browne* will make up at least 14000 horse and foot; and His Majesty (as is credibly informed) hath not above 6000 horse and foot, which are all he can make in these parts. Besides Sir *William Waller* (if his designe to joyne with Sir *Tho. Fairfaxes* horse against Pr. *Rupert* be not thought altogether so necessary) will fall on their reare with 10000 at least, which will be a meanes either speedily to overcome or surprize these forces, or else draw them backe into Oxford. It much concernes the associated Counties to consider the sadnesse of their condition, if over-runne by these mercilesse villaines, and timously prevent their further progresse by rising as one man, and meet together at a fit place of Rendezvouz for the offence of their enemies, and defence of themselves, their wives, children, and estates.

On Munday last June 24. It was advertised, That Prince *Rupert* the 20 of this instant June quartered at Clitheroe and some of his forces at Blackburne in Lancashire, intending to passe through Craven and other parts of the West of Yorkeshire and so for York, but what expectation he can have to relieve it cannot be probably conceived, in regard he hath divided his Forces and sent part of them over the River into Cheshire, besides the unpassableness and unevenness of the wayes through Craven, and moreover for that the besiegers of York are so far from being raised thence (as the Malignants have the last weeke generally affirmed) that they have spared 600 foote to march to the 5000 horse and Dragoones, and 2000

foote that are quartered about Bradford, Oathey, and Kightly waiting for Prince *Ruperts* motion.

The ſame day Letters came to Towne in which it was advertiſed, That Colonell *Charles Fairefax*, (Colonell *Welden* and Colonell *Bethell* with three Regiments of horſe, beſides Foot and Dragoones were come to *Durham*, and that Montroſſe, Oagleby, Clavering and other Malignant forces were retreated to Newcaſtle, ſo that they had ſecured all the places on the Southſide thereof, That the Earl of Calender was alſo that day ſevennight entered *England*, and was then within ſix miles of New-Caſtle, for that he would be able to ſecure all the North parts beyond Newcaſtle, and with the aſſiſtance of the ſouth Forces to keep in the Newcaſtillians, till ſuch time as the Scotch Forces ſhall through the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, poſſeſſe themſelves of York.

On the Lords day night laſt, Colonell *Norton* with two Troopes of horſe and 30 Dragoones, gave an Alarum to the Cavaliers in Denington Caſtle, kild a ſentinell and tooke 8 horſes out of the ſtable without any one of his men being kild or hurt, but could not at that time go further for want of more foote; Theſe Cavaliers in this Caſtle are the greateſt plunderers of any of the Kings Forces, iſſuing forth upon all opportunities and ſurpriſing the Carriers, as they paſſe with their horſe from Malborow, and other places in the Weſt on the Lords Day laſt, they tooke two Waineloads and ſix horſes of goods as they were going from *London* towards Marleborow, and carried them into the Caſtle. Theſe as other the Kings Forces are now turn'd abſolute Robbers, and have forgot that they fight for the Proteſtant Religion, but rather behave themſelves as if they could, or durſt doe nothing but pillage the poore Countries about them; ſo that of a Common-wealth of Souldiers (as the deſigne of ſome was to make them,) they are now become a Common-wealth of Theeves.

For the affaires in the Weſtern parts this weeke, they ſtand thus: On Munday was ſennight Prince *Maurice* lay at Hunington, the next day he went to *Exeter* where the Queene then was, and by Letters of the 19 inſtant it is certified; That ſhee was delivered of a ſon the Lords day before, ſo that upon intelligence that his Excellency the Earle of Eſſex intended to march that way; Shee ſent

a

a Trumpeter to him to deſire him not to beſiege that City, during the time of her lying in. Sir *Ralph Hopton* is now come into Briſtow, ſome ſay with 3000 men, moſt of them Welch, French, and Iriſh, very few Engliſh; which keepes the Country people in thoſe parts much in awe, and forces them and the City to yeeld more out of feare then love. He hath ſummoned the County to bring in proviſions into that City for three moneths, and inforces them to pay five aſſeſſements which were aſſeſſed upon them by his will at once. By which moſt of the Country in thoſe parts that were before his friends are now his foes, and the Citizens and others, were it not that they are ſo over power'd by the Caſtle, and the other Garriſon, would ſoon riſe up to drive out the Vipers, which they have ſo long entertained,

It is further certified out of the Weſt, That the Earle of Newport (ſome yeeres ſince made by His Majeſty maſter of the Ordinance in the Tower of *London*) hath deſerted the Oxford Cavaliers, and hath yeelded himſelfe and come in to his Excellency the E. of Warwick Lo. high Admirall.

On the laſt Lords day, June 23. There was an ordinance of Parliament read in the ſeverall Congregations, in and about *London* both for Thankſgiving to Almighty God for his great deliverance of the little Towne of Lyme, and alſo that the Miniſters ſhould incourage the people to a free and liberall contribution, for the reliefe of the Souldiers and other the Inhabitants there, in which the Citizens of *London* did manifeſt much freeneſſe and liberality, and may therein be an example and preſident to all other parts, and it may alſo incourage all thoſe that have not contributed to declare their affection in this caſe. There being a double uſe that we are to make of all Gods Mercies, (The one is to admire God and to bleſſe him, and the other is to bring an expreſſion of Thankſgiving to our poore Brethren, and certainly ſuch as theſe are very happy opportunities that God pleaſes to give us; and therefore when our Brethren have taſted extraordinarily of Gods love, and preſervation, it is requiſite they ſhould taſte of ours, and that thoſe that have taſted extraordinarily of the bitterneſſe, and baſeneſſe of men, may taſte extraordinarily of the ſweetneſſe of us Chriſtians, and that thoſe which God has kept alive we muſt obſerve Gods providence that they may be kept alive for his glory.

By

By Letters from an Officer in the L. Generals Army, dated *June* 21. it is thus advertiſed, *My L. Generall hath this day ſummoned in Warham, but as yet we receive not any anſwer; ſome ſay the L.* Inchequin *is himſelfe there, if he be, we doubt not but to be ſoone maſters of that place and ſo ſurprize him. The County doe much rejoyce at our comming, and doe come to us daily, and they have promiſed, that if my Lord will but ſtay* 14 *daies, they will raiſe men to put this Country in a poſture of defence; and further doe promiſe ſome certaine pay for his Army. It is* 4 *daies this day ſince my L. Generall came to Weymouth, my Lord of Warwicke came aſhore to my Lord, and are both as yet together.*

Out of Eſſex it is advertiſed, that upon munday morning laſt, there came Warrants from the Militia of that County for the raiſing and arming of the whole County as one man to be in readineſſe to march in 24 houres, the better to prevent the Invaſion of the Cavaliers in that County. Whereupon they have readily and unanimouſly declared themſelves willing to ſacrifice their lives in the defence of the Parliament, and that they can raiſe 15000 fighting men for that purpoſe, which will all be in readineſſe to meet at ſuch place or generall Rendezvouz as ſhall be appointed.

The like unanimity of reſolution is alſo in the inhabitants of the Counties of Norfolke and Suffolke.

Wedneſday June 26. an Order was appointed to be read in divers Pariſh-churches within the line of communication, which is as followeth:

WHereas there are many poore, ſick, and wounded Souldiers, who have ventured their lives in the publick ſervice of the Kingdom, who are in great want and neceſſity of Linnen and Woollen Cloathes, for relieving them in their diſtreſſe, which want cauſeth their miſery to become more uncomfortable, and keeps back the cure of their wounds and ſickneſſe. It is therefore Ordered by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, that the ſaid William Greenhill, John Pocock, John Randall, Richard Hutchinſon, *Treaſurers for maymed Souldiers, ſhall appoint three or foure ſuch meet perſons, as they ſhall thinke fit to go from Pariſh to Pariſh within the Line of Communication, Bills of Mortality, and the Aſſociated Counties, who may earneſtly ſtir up and*

and desire all well-affected people to contribute their old Cloathes either Linnen or Woollen towards the relief of the aforementioned poore Souldiers, and all such Linnen and Woollen as shall bee so contributed, shall be delivered in to the charge of the Church-wardens of the said Parishes, where they are contributed, to be by them conveyed to the aforementioned Treasurers of London, for maymed Souldiers, at Tallow chandlers-Hall neere Dowgate, on every wednesday, betwixt the houres of two and five a Clock in the afternoon. And the said Churchwardens are hereby required, forthwith to deliver in to the aforesaid Treasurers for maymed Souldiers, and at the aforesaid place, all such Linnen Surplices as are now remaining or belonging to their severall Parishes, to be imployed for the uses aforesaid.

H. Elſ. Cler. Parl. D. Com.

The Cavaliers have plundred moſt of the Carriers which have gone out from *London*, ſince Thurſday laſt, and have taken many of their Horſes, Packes, and Carriages, They have taken about 40 horſe out of Weeden, and many out of Oburne and other places of Northamptonſhire. Thurſday *June* 25. we heard, that Sir *W. Waller* was got between them and Oxford, of whoſe proceedings we have yet no other advertiſement.

The valiant and approved patriot, the Lord Roberts Field Marſhall to his Excellency is deſigned to goe very ſpeedily into his owne Country of Cornewall, the ſooner to reduce that County to the Parliament.

On the Lords day laſt June 23. Sir *Edw. Deering* Baronet, that Engliſh *Seneca* died at his houſe within 12 miles of Canterbury. He was a man of knowne and eminent parts, and inferiour to few or none in theſe moderne times for eloquence of writing. He left behind him (beſides his former publications) a learned diſcourſe (publiſhed about a weeke before his death) concerning the *Proper Sacrifice*, wherein in anſwer to the Jeſuite he learnedly confutes the Popiſh errour of Tranſubſtantiation. He (according to the common maxime, *Humanum eſt errare*) was ſubject to errour as well as other men, and particularly of a miſunderſtanding of the differences now on foot betweene His Majeſty and the high Court of Parliament; yet

yet to the joy of many of his wel-willing friends, and to the conviction of many who were carried away by his parts. He lived to retract his former courses, and to publish a Declaration of his miscarriages therein.

On Wednesday last June 26. the house of Commons kept the solemne day of humiliation at *Margarets*-Church in Westminster. There preached before them in the forenoone Mr. *Hardwicke*, the L. Generals Chaplaine, upon *Psal.* 126. and the two last verses; and in the afternoon Mr. *Hicks* upon *Esay* 58.5.

The same day we had also more particular intelligence from the L. Generall, that on Saturday last he lay at Burport neere Lyme, and that his forces were quartered there, and at Chard, Armixter, and other places within 20 miles of Exceter, where the Queene yet remaines, and (as is informed by the E. of Newport) was delivered of a daughter on the Lords day was seven-night last; the ground of the former report that she had a sonne, was, for that a Priest in that City did in his prayer give thanks for a sonne, which afterwards proved otherwise.

For the report this day concerning the comming of the Cavaliers into Watford in Hartfordshire 15 miles from *London*, it was onely raised upon the comming of some of Major Generall *Brownes* Forces that way, which some not knowing caused a false Alarm to be struck up about the County, who are now in a great readinesse to oppose the Cavaliers.

One passage, for the small comfort of Malignants, I must not omit, which is, That the Parliament have provided 20000 l. to be sent to the Lord Generall by Sea, for the incouragement of his forces, together with Letters of recommendation and advertisement, to desire him to continue his care and courage in reducing the West.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for T. B. and J. W. J. and are to be sold in the old Bayley. 1643

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A DISCOURSE OF A true English-man,

Called mr Richard Lilburn

Free from Selfe-interest, concerning the interest ENGLAND hath in the Siege OF

Graveling.

June 28

Printed at *London* for *Thomas Walkley*. 1644.

DISCOURSE

A true English man,

Free from Self-interest, Covet-

Ousness,

A Diſcourſe of a true Engliſh-man, free from Selfe-intereſt, concerning the intereſt ENGLAND *hath in the ſiege of* Graveling.

OUr domeſtick affaires employing the beſt ſeeing men of the Realme, I having no ſhare in ſo great actions, conceive it my part to repreſent unto them, and the reſt of my deare Countrey men, what evils are invading us from abroad. I feare that whileſt England laboureth in her beſt ſubjects for the reſtitution of our peace at home, dangers of no ſmall conſequence, ariſing from forraine practices, may grow paſt remedy.

Nature which hath ſeparated England from the reſt of the world by a broad and deep ſea, ſerving in ſtead of dirch and wall, ſeemes to tell this Iland, that her true intereſt is to keep herſelfe Miſtreſſe of this Sea, and by all poſſible meanes to hinder her neighbours from over-much power in this her ditch and wall; the power at ſea of each particular of them muſt be leſſe than hers, if ſhe will be ſafe, and in as much as ſhe can procure, the power at ſea of each particular neighbour muſt be equally ballanced with that of the other, one muſt not over-top the other, they muſt joyne together. This for many yeares ſhe hath exactly obſerved, aiding

ſometime this, ſometime that, never permitting any to command her ſeas, ſtill keeping her neighbours divided and oppoſite among themſelves, who had they joyned, might have given her juſt cauſe of feare. Queene *Elizabeth* alwayes held this courſe, judging the greatneſſe and ſafetie of this Kingdome to depend thereon, to this ſhe was induced by theſe, or the like reaſons.

1 Englands chiefe prerogative and glorie is to command her ſeas, this prerogative and glorie will be eaſily loſt, if all neighbouring ports and coaſts come into the rule of one Prince or State.

2 Whiles theſe havens and coaſts remaine divided among the Spanyard, Hollander, and French, which nations are at enmitie among themſelves, England is free from feare, no one of them being powerfull enough to invade her; and if any one ſhould attempt the invaſion, ſelfe-intereſt would enforce the other to aſſiſt her. But if all come into the hands of one Maſter, his power will be dreadfull to England, if he invade, who ſhall aſſiſt this Iſland?

3 Neighbouring Countries remaining as they are, at contention among themſelves, and almoſt in perpetuall wars, England groweth rich, having free traffick with them all; but if the French poſſeſſe the coaſt of Dunkirk, the freedome of Englands trade muſt depend on them, they may hold this Iſland to unequall terms, becauſe in ariſing ſtrifes there will be none to take Englands part.

4 The Spanyards being Maſters of Dunkirk, Oſtend, and Graveling, it hath alwayes been in this Iſlands power to live at peace with them, and good cauſe why, the true intereſt of the Spanyard is to be at peace with us. Experience of many yeares yeelds good proofes, no act of hoſtilitie, no ſuſpition of wrong hath come from thence; ſo that England by long triall being aſſured on that ſide, it behoves her to apprehend the danger of new neighbours in thoſe townes: the certaintie of good neighbourhood ought by her to be preferred unto the uncertaintie of others, as yet not by her experienced.

5 The

5 The French have alwayes been held in jealouſie by the Engliſh paſſed wars, actuall pretences of the one againſt the other; the memorie which the French retaine of ſuccour ſent from hence to Rochell, that opinion the Engliſh cannot chuſe but have, that the French will powerfully maintaine our Queenes intereſts, when they have ended with Spaine, doing in the meane while what poſſibly they can to aſſiſt her, muſt needs perſwade the Parlament, that Graveling once had by the French, this Kingdome muſt expect them, ſpecially if to the former motive wee adjoyne common experience, that the French love to be alwayes in war, if not abroad, rather than faile at home.

6 The plot of the ſiege of Graveling was laid by treatie and agreement between the Hollanders and the French; in this agreement the French permit unto the Hollanders the conqueſt of the towne and haven of Dunkirk, which they preſume will preſently follow the taking of Graveling. Now I leave unto any wiſe mens judgement, what intereſt England, eſpecially the Parlament, may have in hindring the Hollanders from the poſſeſſion of this haven, conſidering that by this meanes it fals into the hands of the Prince of Orange, who is Admirall of Holland, and Maſter of all their Sea-forces, beſides his power by land, who ſees not the faire pretences he may have to intermeddle in the civill wars of England, and the titles he may bring forth for more than this?

7. The Parliament having the adminiſtration of this Realme, and poſſeſſing the Navie thereof, its honour and intereſt exacteth ſuch a government, as may hinder while it laſteth, all detriment, from within and from abroad, which it ſhall do moſt ſecurely by collecting ſuch experienced maximes, by which this Kingdome hath ſubſiſted hitherto, and by which it hath maintained unto it ſelfe ſtrength, wealth and ſplendor. In ſo doing it will more freely poſſeſſe the Subjects love, who by this muſt ſee they ſeek the true intereſt of the Crown.

Againſt theſe reaſons two Objections may be oppoſed. 1. That

England is too much imployed in her own affaires, hindering her from attending to forraigne buſineſſe. 2. That the Parliament cannot ſuccour Graveling, without danger of provoking France, and drawing the French Force upon England.

To the firſt of theſe Objections I eaſily anſwere; Firſt, that Englands Civill Wars ſhould rather incite than hinder the Parliament from ſuccouring Graveling: This Kingdomes diviſions cauſing it's weakneſs, ſhould alſo cauſe an apprehenſion of France her growing Great and ſtrong, by adjoynig Graveling to her dominions. This apprehenſion ſhould produce an effectuall deſire to hinder this growth and ſtrength as I have already made manifeſt.

Secondly, to ſuccor Graveling no forces of ours are needfull to the Spaniard but thoſe of Sea, ſuch of theſe as are in the Parlia. poſſeſſion, are not ſo much imploied for the preſent, as a ſufficient part of them may not for ſome few dayes, be aſſigned for this expedition. It ſeems a thing moſt certaine to me, that this town being of ſo great conſequence to the Spaniard, he will moſt readily free us from all charges in this action, and not onely this, but alſo afford us no ſmall preſent gaine in caſe we give him this aſſiſtance.

To the other Objection of provoking France, and drawing her Forces upon England, for my part I ſee no pretext France can take againſt the Parliament, in regard of this helpe, ſeeing that it will be afforded by the Parliament for the indempnity, and ſecurity of this Kingdome, and according to thoſe maximes *England* hath alwaies uſed without violation of her amity with France. Secondly, England wrongeth none in uſing her right. Now this Kingdom poſſeſſing the Dominion of her ſeas, may with juſt cauſe hinder the invaſions and uſurpations of thoſe, who with her prejudice ſeek to ſpoil her neighbour. 3. According to the ordinary uſe and courſe of War, ſuch ſuccours as theſe induce no breach of peace. The Hollanders who have neutrality with the Empire,

ſent

ſent notwithſtanding ayde to the Caſtle of Hermerſteyn, and the towne of Dorſten, beſieged by the Imperialliſts, and contributed the value of great ſums to the Sweden, and to the Widow of the Heſſian, without giving cauſe of War againſt them, unto the Emperour: At this preſent they ſupply the Sweden with Ships and men againſt the Dane, continuing amity notwithſtanding with this King. The French themſelves have done the like, for the Hollanders againſt the Spaniard, even at that time they were in peace with Spaine, they gave aid of men and money to the King of Sweden, againſt the Empire, not having any open War with the Emperour, whence it plain enſues, that ſuch ſuccours cannot be eſteemed acts of Hoſtility according to the examples and maximes of the French and Hollanders themſelves.

4. In caſe ſuch aides would provoke the French, it is certain that after the raiſiug of this ſiege, the Spaniards and the Empire will give them worke enough, ſo to hinder them from any enterprize againſt England. Farther, if the French ſhall actually enter into War againſt this Realme, in regard of the fruſtrating their hopes of Graveling, Spaine no doubt will oblige her ſelſe to defend it, and keep it free from harme, enſuing from the ſaid Inſtruction.

5. The ſuffering France to get means to do hurt unto England is much more to be feard, than the giving to the French a pretence for doing her harme, France cannot hurt unleſſe ſhee hath power and meanes, but if the French get power, and meanes to hurt, this will bee executed by them here, although pretences fail, as they have done, not onely once elſewhere, and not onely in one place, where they have broken ſolemne Treaties without any cauſe, yea, without colour of Iuſtice.

6 When France ſhall be in caſe to invade England, pretences will never want, old quarrels, aid given to Rochell, the intereſt of the Queene of England, and other like will ſuffice. So that England's

land's ſecuritie conſiſteth not in avoyding to provoke France, which is ſufficiently ſtirred up by her owne ambition, and her deſire to devoure this Kingdome, but England muſt procure ſecuritie to her ſelfe, by taking away from France meanes and power to hurt her. The will to hurt England can never faile in the French.

Laſtly, if a more particular treatie with the Spanyard about this buſineſſe pleaſe the Parlament, other meanes and wayes queſtionleſſe will be found out, by which a ſatisfying ſecuritie for England againſt France will appeare. So that the aid which England ſhall give to Spaine in this preſent occaſion, ſhall appeare no way prejudiciall to this Kingdome.

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June 28

London: Printe

THE ANATOMIST ANATOMIS'D.

OR,

A ſhort ANSWER to ſome things in the Book, Intituled,

An Anatomy of Independencie:

Wherein it's ſhewed;

I. That many things reported are miſ-reported.

II. That if all were true, yet divulging of them in this manner, is not according to the Word of GOD.

III. Nor Argumentative againſt the Cauſe that's falſly called INDEPENDENCY.

GAL. 4. 17.

They zealouſly affect you, but not well: They would exclude us, that you might affect them.

HEBR. 12. 3.

Conſider him who indured ſuch contradiction of ſinners againſt himſelf, leſt you be weary and faint in your mindes.

Ἂν μὴ προσσχῇ ὁ λοιδορούμενος,
λοιδορεῖ ὁ λοιδορῶν. Philem apud ſtob.

Id eſt,

Si non revocat ad animum is qui criminationibus appetitur, tum criminationes in ipſum recidunt auctorem. *Interpret. Philip. Camerar. op. hor. ſubciſ. cent. 3. c. 59.*

June 28 By SIDR. SIMPSON.

London: Printed for *Peter Cole*, at the Royall Exchange. 1644.

THere are two too uſuall errours in handling Controverſies. One to make the difference voluminous and many-headed, that ſo it may appeare more horrid, monſtrous and irreconcileable: the other to make the Oppoſites odious, by charging their reall or ſuppoſed faults upon their Tenents; for every man is glad to heare ſomething againſt thoſe they hate, and ready to believe it without any or on very ſlight examination.

How foule things were reported of Chriſt and *Paul*? How boldly were the Primitive Chriſtians calumniated, that if all things were not believed by all, yet ſome thing might be believed by ſome. *Auſtin* complaines of *Petilian*, that he fell from the *Cauſe* to his *Perſon*, from *Arguments* to Reproaches. So have the Papiſts dealt with *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Perkins*, *Whitaker* and others: ſo dealt *Martin* Mar-prelate (as he calſed himſelfe) for the Presbiteriall government againſt Epiſcopacy. But as that courſe was not bleſſed by God to reformation, or to mittigation of the Biſhops wrath; ſo neither was it liked or approved by the grave and wiſe ones of his owne opinion.

Calumniare audacter aliquid, hærebit.

Both theſe errours are committed in the preſent controverſies of Church Government, againſt the Apologiſts.

Some write large Bookes, and lay together all that's writ by any, or reported to be any mans, as though it were maintained by them all; whereas God knowes, the difference lyes but in a very few particulars. And if thoſe particulars with their proper and pinching arguments were once put forth together, there would be more peace

and truth, and that which now is not, would then be very tollerable.

Others fall foule upon their perſone.

That wherein we (that is Biſhops and Presbiter) contradict one another is. We, that is (the Presb.) affirme that all Churches were ſingle Congregations, equall and Independent each on other in regard of ſubiection. Bains. Dioc. tr. pag. 13. The Survey of diſciplin, written by A. Bancr. hath this title of the whole 29. cap. they depend on themſelves.

Dr. *Burgeſſe*, rejoyn'd. p. 117 Pariſh Omnipotency.

Firſt, to brand them with the name of *Independants*. A name which formerly was proper unto thoſe who ſtood for Presbiteriall government. Under that very Name, they choſe to argue againſt Biſhops, above any other, and the Biſhops called them by it. But ſince it came to be a Reproach, they have put it upon thoſe who count it proud, and inſolent, Apol. pag. 23. And leſt this Brand ſhould be worne out, and their opinion not hurt their *names*, an ill report is given of them, by their converſation to diſcredit their *Opinion*. When the Apologet. Narration came firſt out, many rejoyced in it, and gave us thankes for it; but preſently the Authors were reported to be cunning, proud, boaſters of themſelves, and what not. Bluſh, and for ever be aſhamed O yee Primative Chriſtians, who ſo oft apologiz'd for your ſelves unto the Magiſtrate, and with ſuch expreſſions of your ſelves as we have done; you therein ſhew'd your *pride* and *arrogance*; you ſought not favour from the State to ſerve God freely, but you ſought the praiſe of men. For ever let the name and uſe of Apologies ceaſe from the world; their maine end is to ſhew forth the Authors Integrity, to doe which now is judged. Guile, Selfe-love, boaſting, and Partiality.

But beſides that report, there is an Antapology in Preſſe, or a Collection of ſuch faults as either mens miſtakes and malice, or perhaps mens owne infirmities have made, either beyond the Seas or here. This *Anatomiſt* is a forerunner to that, as ſome few great drops before a ſhower. Though of all the men againſt whom it is directed. I count my ſelfe the moſt unworthy and unable: though in whatſoever I am guilty before men, I will confeſſe ingeniouſly.

Others

Others may ſee more by me then I doe my ſelfe. I may get more by knowledge of my ſinne, then I can looſe by having it made knowne: yet being innocent in what by name is charged ſo often on me, I durſt not but make it knowne, not for my owne ſake ſo much, as leaſt the truth and way of God ſhould ſuffer.

Ἀπεχθῶν πολλὰ μανθάνει σοφός. *Sophoc.*

Moribus eos tuis dam melior ut illos dictis pariter & factis mendacii convincam. Phil. Maced.

I ſhall indeavour to ſhew theſe three things.

1. That it's not a way of God *thus* to divulge mens perſonall faults.

2. Nor rationall or conducing to decide any or this Controverſie.

3. That things are not as they are reported.

Iewell, Apol. ca. 3. div. 2.

Firſt, ſuppoſe all that is ſaid were true and more, yet this way of bruiting of it is not *Chriſtian*. No man ſhould ſuddenly receive or take up a report againſt another, Pro. 25. 23. much leſſe againſt thoſe who deſire to be godly and are at leaſt ſo accounted, and leaſt of all againſt ſuch as are Elders, 1 Tim. 5. 19.

Either the fault reported is repented of or not. If it be, ſhall we lay open what the Lord hath covered? If it be not, before a *Church* may declare the ſin of any Member, the fact muſt firſt be proved, and then the party laboured with to come unto Repentance: This is the Law of Chriſt himſelfe, Matth. 18. 16, 17. much leſſe then may a private perſon tell it and not take that courſe.

Without two or three Witneſſes produc'd, the fault muſt not be told to a *particular Church*; much leſſe may it be told to all the Churches in the world, as Printing doth.

Gods way is not onely to heale the *wound*, but to prevent a *ſcarre*. He doth as well conſult his peoples Name as Holineſſe. And therefore the Caſuiſts doe well reſolve, That he who tells abroad a Fault he knowes and can ſufficiently prove, before he have proved it, and the offendor doe

do refuse to hear the Church, is as well to be punisht as a scandall to Religion, as he, is that did commit the Fact.

But not only to divulge unproved Acts, but upon hear-sayes, and for this end to bring an *odium* upon the parties, and on what they hold or do in matters of Religion; and yet the Author or Reporters name must not be known (perhaps his very Name would infirm his Testimony) what is it, but the highest breach of *Love* and *Justice*?

The Apologists are called Proud, &c. because they did protest their own Integrity, when there was need: what will men think of them, who labour to make all men black and foul besides themselves?

To do thus, is a helplesse, remedilesse Oppression: what course shall men take to save or gain their Names? what satisfaction can men have if they be wronged? private acknowledgement they cannot have, because the Author is not known: and if he were, and would acknowledge it, that cannot satisfie, because the wrong is publique. Shall they clear themselves by Writing? Truth hardly will overtake a Lye that is set out, four or five dayes before it. Will the Reporter, or the *Imprimatur* write themselves Deceived, Misinformed, Abused, Accusers of their Brethren? That will hardly be: where shall the wronged be relieved, or the Truth made known?

Nihil est tam volucre quam maledictum. Nihil facilius emittitur, nihil citius excipitur & latius dissipatur. Cicer.

If it be lawfull for one Part to take this course, it's lawfull for the other; and then, who shall be innocent? who can escape? who cannot finde enough, even in the best, to darken and ecclypse their Glory? And if that should be, Religion will be made a mock and scorn between them both. What will that Religion be esteem'd, in whose professors there's so little love to one another, and so many faults?

Injuries affect men more then Favours. It's a harder matter

matter to indure *ill words* then *ill deeds*, a *contumely* to ones Name, then a *dammage* in Eſtate. And if any be by this courſe tempted to recriminate, though Religion ſuffer, he that tempted to it, is moſt guilty, and muſt bear the blame.

Injuriæ vulnus altius penetrat quam beneficii gratia.

Laſtly, the very Law of Nature hath condemned this. *Plato* calls ſuch, Mad-men, and thinks no commonwealth ſhould ſuffer them: And *lege Remmia*, they were to be branded with a *K* in the forehead, that all men might know them. But I will ſay no more of this, ſome may perhaps conceive it as a ſigne of guilt, to ſpeak ſo much.

L. 1. 2. de legibus.

Omitto hic pœnam legis Remmiæ qua ſtigma literæ K. fronti calumniatoris ſive (ut veterum Orthographia erat) Kalumniatoris inurebatur ut ab omnibus agroſci queat. Phil. Camer. hor. ſubc. cent 3 cap. 59.

II. Suppoſe Reports were true, yet to report them, no wayes helps to end the Controverſie: It may provoke, but not confute. There is no reaſoning from the quality of the perſon to his cauſe; as thus, Such a one is an unclean perſon; Therefore his cauſe in Law is bad. Or thus, Such a one is lewd; Therefore that Religion is not true he doth profeſſe. Is not Chriſt the Saviour, becauſe *Judas* who acknowledged him was treacherous? The more ſpirituall and Divine any wayes are, the more corruptions do break forth in thoſe that walk not with a ſtrait foot in them, as the moſt healing Playſters draw out the moſt filthy putrid matter.

Nemo cuiquam convitiator.

Qui vero cum aliquo aliqua de re diſceptat diſcito ipſe & doceto cum. Et a maledictis prorſus abſtineto. Plato, l. 2. de leg.

Either Opinions are the cauſe of ſuch vile acts or not; if they be not, why are they blamed for them; if they be, unleſſe the holders of them took them up becauſe they were ſo; they are not to be *Reviled*, but *Inſtructed*; their opinion muſt be blamed, and not they.

What conſequence is there between any thing it's ſaid I did, and this main Aſſertion of the Apology [*That one Church may Non-Communion, but not Excommunicate another?*] Did this ſilence me from confeſſing ſin, or preaching the Law, &c? Did this make me make a Covenant with

with the Separation, or dislike Ruling-Elders, or principle me to Anabaptisme?

What advantage can the Cause or Authors have by these Reports? Think they to get more into peoples hearts with their opinions? God takes the wise in their own craftinesse, and will destroy such wisdom. Needs truth such ways? Either your selves are free from faults or not. If not, you must no more be beleeved, then you would have them whose faults you tell; suppose you be, truth grows not on the heapes and ruines of mens names; nor is to be received for mens testimony: but not for theirs of all men, who doe calumniate. All men doe suspect the cause, when as the persons of the witnesses against it, are traduced. Good men wil mourn, and try more narrowly: Others wil laugh, and scoff, and grow more careless what opinion is set up. This will be all they'l get.

Is this your aym, to make us be despised of the people; The best way to that, were to have proved things *orderly* and *fully*: and that all our faults come from our *Cause*, as well as from our selves.

Or is this your aym, by Oppression to provoke us to write more of you, then you have done of us: That so, if we cannot be punisht for any foulnesse in opinion, yet wee may be for unpeaceablenesse: For so the Jesuit reports it was in the Palatinate; The Calvinists preacht against the Lutherans, and then the Lutherans preacht against them: But the Prince being a Calvinist, turn'd out the Lutherans, yet not for their Religion (he said) but for their *unquietnesse*.

III. Things were not as they are reported.

" *Pag.* 6. He saith, A *great* part of that Church did " without further leave or order, or giving any satisfaction " for offences, abandon the Church, and joyned with o- " thers to the erecting of that Church, whereof Mr. *Simp-*

" *sons*

"ſon was Paſtor, and were by him received without any "more adoe, notwithſtanding that their ſchiſme.

The truth is,

1. That none that ever were of that Church did joyne to the erecting of that Church where I was. They were all ſuch as had not joynd themſelves to any Congregation before.

2. A great part of that Church never did at any time joyne to them. They were a very few.

3. We tooke this courſe in taking them who were. They having a long time diſcontinued their Communion there, and for ten moneths were denyed admiſſion by us, though they earneſtly requeſted it; we ſent ſome choſen men together with thoſe perſons unto the Officers of that Church, to know whither they eſteemed them their Members, or had any thing againſt them: and we had this anſwer, that they had nothing againſt them, and accounted them not as belonging to them: ſo that we might receive them if we would.

'Pag. 6, 7. The defection of ſome of their Members to 'Anabaptiſme ---- how apt are others of them to be made 'a prey therein more then the Members of other Refor-'med Churches, as late inſtance hath manifeſted, ſome 'having profeſſed Maſter *Sympſons* principles have made them Anabaptiſts.

1. This ſome, that profeſſed ſo, is but one of all that ever I have heard.

2. My principles whereon he hath profeſt (as he himſelfe hath teſtified before many) are not principles in Church Government, but in Doctrine, and they are none of mine, but all reformed Churches: and therefore render us no apter to be made a prey then they do them.

Some have profeſt the Nonconformiſts principles lead unto ſeparation, as *Morton, Def. Inno. Cer. ſect.* 41. *Can. &c.*

Some of late too, have charg'd their turning Ana-

Anabapt. upon the principles of Presbiteriall men; It's nothing what men doe profeſſe but what doth directly leade unto ſuch errours. Thoſe who have Apoſtatiz'd from Proteſtants to Popery, have ever laid the grounds upon Proteſtants. Let it be ſhewed that my principles doe neceſſarily bring forth ſuch opinions: or that he muſt needs be an Anabaptiſt, who holds one Church cannot excommunicate another, and you have ſaid ſomething.

4. What flaming ſword is there in the hand of a Claſſicall Presbitery to keepe men out of errours which may not be in a Congregation? In one Congregation there may be as many Presbiters as from many Congregations make a Claſſis; and why then may they not doe the ſelfe ſame acts? their Officers and Office is the ſame, and therefore the promiſe of aſſiſtance is the ſame. And if the Counſell and adviſe of other neighbour Churches be required, a congregation may have that as well, and perhaps ſooner then a Claſſis can, which muſt ſtay for a Provinciall Synod.

5. There have been as great defections both of Miniſters and people unto errours, under Presbiteriall government as under any other: as is cleare in the Low Countries where ſo many Miniſters & people turn'd Arminians, Papiſts, Socinians. (Greater errours then the deniall of Pædobaptiſme) and in other Countries too.

'Pag. 14. Maſter *Sympſons* Church Preached in a *private* 'houſe, which they then fitted to be a publick allowed 'Church ſince.

Sixe Moneths at leaſt before the Church was gathered, we had a publick act to doe it, by the ſtate of Rotterdam. We were oftimes bidden by the Magiſtrate to find out a place or ground, fit to meet in or to build upon, and it ſhould be granted to us.

The place wherein we met, was in an open ſtreet, a no-

ted

ted place, neer the Exchange, where all that would might come, frequented by the Dutch, of that and ſeverall cities who underſtood our Language. Nor can it be more publiquely allowed ſince, for the publique Act runs thus;

To have ſuch Miniſters as they ſhall chuſe from time to time, and ſuch Diſcipline as they conceive to be according to the Word of God, and to be protected in this with the ſame care and love our own Natives are.

" *Pag.* 24. There is a mutuall Covenant between Mr. *Sympſons* Church, and thoſe of the Separation at *Amſterdam* to own each other.

This was not in my time, nor have I heard it hitherto. How near ſoever they are joyned, yet this I am ſure is not to any Separation from the Churches of Chriſt, though they be not of their judgements for Church-Government.

" *Pag.* 25. Mr. *Sympſons* Prayers and Sermons con-"tained little or no matter of Confeſſion of ſin, or threat-"ning of judgement, or what concern'd the Law or Re-"pentance: But exalting the grace of God in Chriſt al-"ready wrought, and of Thankſgiving, as being *bound* "to frame his Sermons, and direct his ſpeech to the bene-"fit of none, but thoſe of his own Church, on whom he "looked as already converted, and not to aym at the con-"verſion of any, it being the ordinary Opinion among "them, that this is not the work of a Paſtour.

1. Its neither the ordinary Opinion, nor of any one that ever I heard of, but the contrary, much leſſe was I bound unto it.

I preached for the uſe of the Law, on *Luke* 1.74,75. and of Repentance, on another Text. What ever Text I preacht on, this ordinarily was one uſe, to ſhew the miſery of men in their naturall condition, and without Jeſus Chriſt. In all my prayers I confeſſed both the ſins of the Church and others, and prayed for grace and pardon to them

them both; though for the Church especially. I exalted grace, to give sinners hope, to make sin more vile, & believers more thankfull; and if that be an error, its my duty to bee more erroneous. And as wee sought the converſiō of all, ſo *God* was pleaſed to convert ſome by us.

Is this a crime, to be more in exalting grace, then in threatning judgements? To ſhew there is more grace in Chriſt, then ſin in men? Will men be converted more by hearing of Hell, then Chriſt?

" *Pag.* 26. Mr. *Sympſon* had no ruling Elders, but thought that Office unlawfull.

Its true *de facto* we had none, but were reſolved to have them. Their Office and duty hath been opened by me, and the Church informed of their neceſſary uſe. I know not that ever any word was ſpoken, or any thing inſinuated againſt that Office by me.

But if I were, I ſhould not be alone. All that allow the Presbyteriall Government, allow not them: and ſome that do, yet think there is no *ius divinum* for them: So that what ever evill follows my ſuppoſed Tenent, follows from your ſelves aſwell.

'It were too long to ſet downe all miſtakes, as p. 12. We choſe 'our baniſhment, p. 26. we doe not think it lawfull to uſe the Lords 'Prayer in publick, and moſt loudly, p. 27, 28. It was voted that 'ſome men (who ſaid they would complaine unto the Magiſtrates 'of them) ſhould inſtantly be excommunicated. Whereas

1. There was no ſuch thing at that or any other time put to a Queſtion, much leſſe voted.

2. Nor was it complaining to the Magiſtrate that was their crime, but ſuch other faults as no reformed Church would beare.

But becauſe theſe doe not ayme at me by name I'le let them paſſe a while, with many others. As Anatomiſts diſſect one part one day, andthen another I have begun firſt with the head and tongue. The Tongue that's ſweld and black, argues ill bloud and ſpleene, overflowing of the Gall, and too much inward heate.

Let me ſet this ſeale to all, that what I have related, there are not a few (on this ſide and beyond the Seas) men of untoucht credit and knowne faithfulneſſe who will avow it.

If I may but obtaine this, that the Reader will not beleeve thoſe or any other Reports of this kind, which are either in that booke, or in what is comming forth, untill the Authors of them will appeare and bring their Witneſſes to a faire hearing in any *lawfull* though the *ſtricteſt* Judicature, where we may ſuffer if we have done what's reported, or elſe the Reporters may: (a ſmall and juſt requeſt) I have the ſcope and end I ayme at.

FINIS.

CONFESSIONS AND PROOFES OF *PROTESTANT DIVINES* OF Reformed Churches,

That EPISCOPACY is in respect of the Office according to the word of God, and in respect of the Use the *Best*.

TOGETHER,

With a briefe *Treatise* touching the Originall of BISHOPS and METROPOLITANS

Iunii 28 OXFORD,
Printed by *Henry Hall*, in the Yeare 1644.

CONFESSIONS
AND
PROOFS,
OF
PROTESTANCY DIVORCED
OF
ROMISH CORRUPTION.

That PRESBYTERY is in reality the Offspring of Popery, and in Spirit and Principle the same.

TOGETHER,

With a brief Account of the Life and Character of the Bishops and METROPOLITANS.

Printed by Henry Hall, in the Year 1644.

TO
The Pious and Religous Reader,
Grace and Peace in Chriſt Ieſus.

THe matter ſubject of this Treatiſe being yet in ſuſpence, and to be determin'd *de futuro. vid:* What Eccleſiaſticall Government is to be judged to be, *According to the word of God* in reſpect of the office it ſelfe, and alſo the *Beſt* in reſpect of its uſe: After that upon more and more deliberation I had perfected my concluſion, the ſaying of *Auguſtine* came into my mind, *He that concealeth a Truth, and he that teacheth a falſhood, are both guilty: the firſt becauſe he will not profit; the other, becauſe he intendeth to hurt and delude*: which I apprehended as a double caution, both of not publiſhing any Utopian Eccleſiaſticall forme of Government of mine owne forging, as alſo, of not ſtifling, by my ſilence, a forme truly Apoſtolicall.

Which Reſolution, notwithſtanding, I did not adventure to take, before that I was fortified in my perſwaſion

ſwaſion by a generall *conſent* of Proteſtant Divines of reformed Churches, and among others, in ſome principall poynts appealing to the Divines of the Church of *Geneva*; Nor yet doe we ſo much inſiſt upon their Confeſſions, as upon their Proofes, eſpecially being grounded upon two infallible foundations. The firſt, the Generall Verdict of Antiquity, as well Doctrinall as Hiſtoricall: though we ſhould not name that Generall Councell of *Calcedon* conſiſting of 630 Fathers, which by one Canon decreed it to be a Sacriledge to preſſe downe a Biſhop into the degree of a Presbyter. The ſame Councell that did alſo ordaine another Canon, which was then the very break-neck of Romiſh Popedome. 2ly, The Authenticall Texts of Scripture ſo farre as thereby to demonſtrate Chriſt his owne approbation of Epiſcopall Prelacy after his Aſcenſion in the Churches of *Aſia*: in one whereof without all contradiction was one *Polycarpus* Biſhop and Martyr.

As for the Churches, whereof we are to ſpeake; The Tractate hath beene undertaken in behalfe of Proteſtant Churches, which practice at this day the ſame Prelacy under theſe two divers names of Epiſcopacy and Superintendency, as much exceeding the number of thoſe which are deſtitute of Biſhops, yet ſo, as juſtly condemning the Romiſh Hierarchy (rather Tyranny) poyſoned with moſt groſſe Idolatry, and not ſo onely, but ſo farre oppoſite to the Epiſcopacy which we defend, that it is a falſe Uſurpation, that all Biſhops be originally deduced from the Pope, and dependant upon him. Other Churches deſtitute of Biſhops we differ from, yet not ſo (farre be it from us) as not to account them eſſentiall Churches of Chriſt, but to whom

whom, as formerly, we doe deſirouſly give the right hand of Brotherly fellowſhip, to joyne againſt the Common and grand adverſary in the Romiſh *Babylon*.

Concerning other poynts circumſtantiall we have provided, that our Method be with coherence, our Style plaine and even, our allegations direct and punctuall, our Authors juſtly approveable, our Taxations toothleſſe, and our Inferences briefe, pertinent and conſectary.

As for you (good Chriſtian Reader) his hope is, that he ſhall not need the uſe of the Apoſtles Expoſtulation, ſaying, *Am I your enemy, becauſe I tell you the truth?* and his prayer to God ſhall be to protect and bleſſe you, to the Glory of his ſaving Grace in Chriſt Jeſus, that he alſo will diſtribute to this our lacerated Church ſome portion of that his peerleſſe Legacy left unto his Apoſtles, when he ſaid, *My peace I leave with you*, by vertue whereof we may with one Heart and Mind faithfully Worſhip God in Spirit and in Truth.

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The judgement of Proteſtant Divines, of remote Churches, as well ſuch, as were the firſt Reformers of Religion, as others, after them, in behalfe of Epiſcopall degree in the Church.

THis they performe, both by their direct and ingenious confeſſions, and after by ſound and ſolid *proofes*, ſo farre as to ſhew Epiſcopall Prelacie to be *According to Gods Word*, as alſo to acknowledge the ſame for uſe to be the *Beſt* kinde of Eccleſiaſticall Government. We are, in the firſt place, to try their plaine *confeſſions* concerning the ſaid Prelacy, as well in ſpeciall, for our Engliſh, as touching Epiſcopacy in generall, in what Orthodox Church ſoever, and afterwards to adjoyne the proofes.

I. Thesis.

That our Engliſh Epiſcopacy hath beene juſtified by the confeſſion of the moſt learned Proteſtants of remote Churches, in ſpeciall by the Church of Geneva.

OUr Epiſcopall Prelacy we are ſure was profeſs'd, and practic'd by Biſhops.

1. In the dayes of King *Edward* the 6th, who as they were the principall Authors of the *Reformation* of our Proteſtant Religion,

ligion, ſo did ſome of them ſeale the truth of their profeſſion with their bloud, and have therefore beene with others thus extoll'd by that golden mouth of the *French* Church (a) Maſter *Moulin* ſaying, *That they were for zeale nothing inferiour to the moſt excellent ſervants of God, that* Germany *or* France *ever had; which* (ſaith he) *none will deny is ſo, if not wilfully ſtupid, and blinded in day-light.* Yea, and touching thoſe then Archbiſhops and Biſhops, (b) *Beza* for the Church of *Geneva*. *It happened in our memory, that ſhe* (ſpeaking of our *Engliſh* Church) *hath had men of that calling, not onely conſtant Martyrs of God, but alſo excellent Paſtours, and Doctors.*

(a) *Moulin epiſt. ad Epiſc. Winton. Quorum Martyrum habemus ſcripta, & meminimus geſta, ac zelum; nullâ ex parte inferiorem zelo præſtantiſſimorum Dei ſervorum, quos Germania, aut Gallia tulit: hoc qui negat, oportet ut ſit vel improbè vecors, vel gloriæ Dei invidus, vel cerebroſâ ſtoliditate caliget in clarâ luce.*

2. In the dayes of Queene *Elizabeth*, *Calvin* the moſt luſtrious ſtarre of the Church of *Geneva* doubted not to inſtile Archbiſhop *Cranmer* (c) *A moſt accompliſh'd Prelate*, (ſaith he) *who hath the cure, not onely of England, but alſo of the whole Chriſtian world*, which he did to the dignifying of the government of our Engliſh Church; and no marvell, ſeeing that he durſt profeſſe to yeild, in behalfe, even of Popiſh Biſhops, upon condition, that renouncing the dependance upon the Pope, and acknowledgement of Chriſt as their onely Head, with profeſſion of his *Truth* (d). *Then ſhall we profeſſe all them* (ſaith he) *who ſhall not reverently and willingly ſubmit to their government, to be worthy of whatſoever Anathema or curſe.* So he, even in his Tractate of reformation of the Church. At what time alſo *Beza* after his congratulating the reſtitution of our Proteſtant Religion in England, earneſtly deſired the whole Clergy under the government of *Grindal* then

(b) *Beze Reſponſ ad Saravi de Miniſt. gradibus, c. 18 p. 303. Quod ſi nunc Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ inſtauratæ ſuorum Epiſcoporum & Archiepiſcoporum authoritate ſuffulta præſtant, quemadmodum hoc illi noſtrâ memoriâ contigit, ut ejus ordinis homines non tantùm inſignes Dei Martyres, ſed etiam præſtantiſſimos Paſtores, ac Doctores haberit* (c) *Calvin epiſt. Cranmero, Te præſertim (Ornatiſſime Præſul) qui altiori in ſpecula ſedes, in hanc curam incumbere neceſſe eſt. Scio non ita uniut Angliæ haberi abs Te rationem, quin univerſo orbi conſulas.* (d) *Calvin. tom. 7. ad Sadoletum, & de neceſſitate reformandæ Eccleſiæ. p 69. Verùm talem nobis ſi contribuant Hierarchiam in quâ eminent Epiſcopi, ut Chriſto ſubeſſe non recuſent, ut ab illo tanquam ab unico capite pendeant, & ad ipſum referantur, in quâ ſi fraternam charitatem inter ſe colant, & non alio modo quàm ejus veritate colligati, tum verò nullo non Anathemate dignos fatemur ſi qui erunt, qui eam non reverenter & ſummâ cum obedientiâ obſervent.*

Biſhop

Biſhop of *London*, to (e) *ſubmit* unto him, holding him *worthy of much puniſhment who ſhould deſpiſe his Authority*. Yea, and ſo well did he approve of the then government by Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, as to wiſh *it might be perpetuall unto them*. † *Sadell* likewiſe, who is ſufficiently commended by his excellent writings in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, did joyne together with *Beza* in an Apology to vindicate themſelves from a ſiniſter report, as if they had detracted from the Right of Government by Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, *avouching the ſame aſperſion to have beene a moſt impious ſlander*. And (f) *Biſhop Juell*, how was he honoured by *Peter Martyr*, calling him *A moſt renowned Prelate*; and by *Sibrandus* * *Lubbartus*, entitling him *The Ornament not onely of England, but alſo of the whole world*.

(g) *Hierom Zanchee*, one in the opinion of our Oppoſites (we doubt not) worthily renowned, in his Letters to Queene *Elizabeth*, he *exhorteth Her Majeſtie with an Imprimis, and eſpecially to extend her care, power, and authority, to have godly Biſhops, skilfull in holy Scriptures, of which ſort* (ſaith he) *by the bleſſing of God you have already very many: and to cherish and heare them*. (h) Alſo in his Epiſtle to Arch-biſhop *Grindall*, upon occaſion of his remove to *Canterbury*, he expreſſeth his joy for that acceſſe of *dignity*, *as a teſtimony of Gods love towards him, and a meanes whereby he might more and more promote Gods true Religion*. Our Oppoſites ought not to be offended with us, although we offer unto them next an Author, ſomewhat diſtaſtfull unto them at the firſt hearing,

(e) *Beza ad Grindal Epiſt. 23. ut omnibus præſulibus ſuis ex animo obſequantur: majori pœnâ digni ſunt qui Authoritatem Tuam aſpernabuntur. Idem rurſus ad Sarav.* upon the conſideration of the Government by Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops. *Fruantur ſane iſtâ Dei beneficentiâ, quæ utinam ſit illi nationi perpetua.* † This is cited by the Author of the Survey of the pretended holy diſcipline, &c. *Bezâ apud Saravia de Miniſt. gradibus. p. 343. c. 21. Nedum, ut quod falſiſſimè & impudentiſſimè nonnulli nobis obiiciunt cuiquam uſpiam Eccleſiæ ſequendum noſtrum peculiare exemplum præſcribamus, imperitiſſimorum illorum ſimiles, qui nihil niſi quod ipſi agunt, rectum putant.* (f) *Pet. Martyr Epiſt præfix. Juelli Apol. Ampliſſime Præſul, & Domine mihi quotidie etiam atque etiam obſervande.* * *Sibrand contra Grotium p. 183. citatus à Nicolao Videlio, lib. de Epiſcopat. Conſtantini magni p. 25.* (g) *Zanchius in Epiſt. ad Elizab. Angliæ Regin. Cogitet Tua Majeſtas in hoc omnem Tuam curam, potentiam, & authoritatem intendere, ut Imprimis Epiſcopos habeas pios, & in Sacris literis eruditos ſicut Dei beneficio habes quamplurimos, eosque foveas & audias.* (h) *Idem Epiſt. Edmund. Grindallo Epiſcop. non poſſum non gratulari novam & ampliſſimam dignitatem: quoniam iſta ſunt divinæ benedictionis Teſtimonia & conſtantiæ Tuæ in Deum pietatis quâ ejus beneficentiâ cura Tua magis magiſque in verâ Religione & pietate promoveri poſſit.*

namely (i) D. *Saravia*, becauſe as he is a Religious Divine, and as un-Epiſcopall as any other, ſo alſo is he as Orthodox; every where, as they know, inveighing againſt the Romiſh Hierarchie; he confeſſeth himſelfe to *wonder* at the wiſedome of the Reformers of Religion in England, *ſo as not any where deviating from the antient Church of Chriſt*: and concludeth with this Epiphonema, ſaying. *I hold it a part of her happineſſe that ſhe hath retained with her the order of Biſhops.*

(i) *Saravia de Miniſt. gradibus in Epiſt. ad Lectorem. Sæpe miratus ſum eorum ſapientiam, qui Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ reſtituerunt divinum cultum, & ita ſe attemperârunt ut nuſquam dcceſſiſſe ab antiquâ & priſcâ Eccleſiæ conſuetudine reprehendi poſſint. Et in Epiſt. Dedicatoriâ. In parte fœlicitatis Regni Angliæ numerandum eſt, quòd hunc Ordinem Epiſcoporum retinet.*

3. In the raigne of King *James*, that famous (k) *Iſaack Caſaubon*, whom we reckon as the fourth witneſſe from the Church of *Geneva*, had that eſtimation of our Engliſh Epiſcopall government, as to confeſſe, *That no Church doth come nearer the forme of the Primitive Church, then it doth; ſo farre, that even they who envyed her happineſſe, are notwithſtanding conſtrained to extoll it.* He proceeds furthermore to blazon the worthineſſe of it. *If* (ſaith he) *the eſſentiall part of the Church be enquired into, and what either neceſſarily belongeth unto the doctrine of Salvation, or elſe to the decency of the Church, then (prayſed and magnified be God) no Church upon earth can be found, which more profeſſeth the faith, and reſembleth the forme of the ancient Catholique Church, then it doth.* So he.

(k) *Iſaac' Caſaub. Regem alloquent, in præfat. ad exercit. Qui Eccleſiam habeas in Tuis regnis partim jam olim ita inſtitutam, partim magnis Tuis laboribus ita inſtauratam, ut ad florentis quondam Eccleſiæ formam nulla hodie propius accedat, quàm Tua: inter, vel exceſſu, vel defectu peccantes, mediam viam ſequuta. Quâ moderatione hoc primum aſſecuta eſt Eccleſia Anglicana, ut illi ipſi, qui ſuam felicitatem invident, ſæpè tamen ex aliarum comparatione illam cogantur laudare. Idem Epiſt. ad Card. Peron. Reg. Brit nomine: ſed ex animi quoque tui ſententia. Certò de liquido mihi conſtat, ſi notæ eorum dem quærantur, & verè neceſſariæ ad Salutem ſpectentur, aut etiam ad decorum Eccleſiæ, nullam in orbe terrarum (Deo uni ſit laus & gloria) inventam, quæ propiùs ad fidem aut ſpeciem antiquæ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ accedat, &c.* * Maſter Moulin in his Buckler of Faith, p. 271.

But to returne to our French witneſſe again: worthy Maſter *Moulin*, in an anſwer to a Papiſt, who upbraided him with the diſcipline of *England*, doth avouch the dignity thereof, telling him furthermore, *That their agreement in ſuch, that England* (ſaith hee) *hath beene a refuge to our perſecuted Churches, and correſpondently the excellenteſt ſervants of God in our Churches, as* Peter Martyr, Calvin, Beza, *and* Zanchee,

have

have often written Letters full of respect and amity to the Prelates of England. So he.

Lastly, now under our Gracious Soveraigne King *Charles*, in the time of Arch-bishop *Abbot*, whose daily experience did testifie the reciprocall correspondence betweene him, and with other Bishops and all reformed Churches beyond the Sea. At what time likewise *Cyrill* late Greeke Patriarch of *Constantinople* did so farre honour both him and our *English* Church, as to professe his accordance therewith, more specially then with any other. And if our Bishops of later date had not beene respected, then surely would not the Divines about *Breme* in *Germany* have sent their controversies had among themselves, onely unto certaine Bishops in *England* (as they did) to have them moderated by their judgements, not to speake of their dedications of some of their Bookes unto Bishops. These last Relations nothing, but the importunity of these times, could have extorted from us. Thus much of particular respects had in speciall to our English Episcopall Government, by singular approved Divines of the reformed Protestant Churches. In the next place, as the thread of our method leadeth us, we are to examine what they will say touching the unlawfulnesse, or lawfulnesse thereof in generall.

II. THESIS.

That there was never any visibly constituted Church in all Christendome since the Apostles time for 1500 yeares and more, which held Episcopacy in it selfe so be unlawfull.

WE are not ignorant that even at this time, all Episcopacy, and Prelacy of any one above Presbyterie, is cryed downe by some as unlawfull in it selfe, notwithstanding our Opposites cannot but know what, besides *Epiphanius*, Saint *Augustine* recorded of one *Aerius*, to wit, that he, *because he could not obtaine to be made a Bishop, did therefore teach that there ought to be no difference betweene a Presbyter and a Bishop.* So he: and for that cause they listed him among the erroneous Authors of that Age, but (he being excepted) never

August. de Aerio lib. de Hæres. cap. 53. Quia non potuit episcopus ordinari, dicebat Presbyterum ab episcopo nullâ differentiâ debere discerni.

never any visible Church of Christ before him, we adde, nor yet any thus protested after him, nor before these dayes of contradiction defended his opinion. Now whether the humour of desire to rule others, and the unwillingnesse to be subject unto others, may not equally transport some Ecclesiasticks to oppose against Episcopacy, they can best judge whom it most concernes. We know (beside infinite others, who have acknowledged the lawfulnesse of Episcopacy) some Protestant Divines of remote Churches, who have fully condemn'd the opinion of *Aërius*. Three may suffice for three hundred if they be learned and judicious Authors, and not interested in that which is now called Episcopall Policy. (*a*) Master *Moulin* commeth on roundly: *I have since my infancy* (saith he) *abhorr'd the opinion of* Aërius. (*b*) *Tylenus* also a Divine of the *French* Church as pertinently and plainly. *None ever before* Aërius *endeavoured the extirpation of Episcopacy, nor yet after him any, but some of* Geneva. What some he might meane we know not, but whom he might not meane we have already shewne; as *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Sadel*, and *Casaubone*, who have given their ample suffrages for our *English* Episcopacy, but onely speake against the *Romish* Hierarchie: And now, for the generality of it, (*c*) *Beza* is againe at hand, saying, *If there be any, as I thinke* (saith he) *there is not, who altogether reject the Episcopall Order, God forbid that any of sound braine should ever assent to their furies*; and besides, *protesteth his acknowledged observance, and all reverence to all Bishops reformed.* Hitherto against the objected unlawfulnesse of Episcopacy in the Church of Christ. But this will not satisfie some men, except furthermore the lawfulnesse thereof may appeare in that degree which is called in respect of its right, *According to the Word of God.* It belongeth unto us to shew this by the *Confession* of Divines of remote Protestant Churches, which we are ready to performe, and more too.

(a) *Master Moulin in Epist. 3. ad Episc. Winton. Ab incunabulis Aërium damnavi.*

(b) *Tylenus in paraenes. Ante Aërium de Episcopis exautorandis nemo, post Aërium solùm Genevenses studebant.*

(c) *Beza de Minist. gradibus. p. 2. Si qui sunt (quod sanè mihi non facilè persuaserù) qui omnem Episcopatûs Ordinem, ut Tu scribis, rejiciunt, absit, ut quisquam sanè mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur. Iidem si modò deformatam domum Dei adamussim ex verbi divini Regula pro viribus instaurarent, ut Ecclesiae Christianae fidos pastores, cur non agnoscamus? observemus? & omni Reverentiâ prosequamur?*

III. THESIS.

That Episcopall Prelacy is acknowledged by Protestant Divines of remote Churches to be according to the Word of God, and their consent therein unto Primitive Antiquity.

Luther. may well be allowed for the fore-man amongst the Reformers of the Protestant Religion, who proveth the Prelacy of Episcopacy *above simple Presbyters* (for so he saith) by *divine Right*; and this he doth in his Tractate called his Resolution, grounding his judgement upon Scripture, whereof hereafter. Accordingly *Bucer*, against the Pope as Anti-Christ: (*b*) *We see* (saith he) *by their perpetuall observation of Churches, and from the Apostles themselves, that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost that some singular one should be appointed among the Presbyters to governe in so sacred an Order, who hath, for the same cause, the Appellation of Bishop in Scripture.* *Scultetus* the Divine, Professour at Heidelberg, *professing Episcopall degree to be of divine Right*, and professeth to prove it to be such *by efficacious reasons*, who in the sequell of his discourse, will be as good as his word; with whom agreeth that admirable Scholler (*c*) *Isaack Casaubon* the ornament of *Geneva*, who held the same to be grounded upon the *Testimonies of Scriptures*. These may serve for the present, till we come to a larger consent.

Luther. tom. 1. fol. 309. Resolut. ejus super propositionibus Lypsiæ disputationibus habitis, conclusio. Probo quamlibet civitatem habere debere Episcopum proprium jure divino, quod ex Paulo ad Titum ostendo dicente (Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui Te Cretæ, ut quæ desunt corrigas, ut constitues simplices Presbyteros per civitates sicut Ego dispositi Tibi, Hos autem Presbyteros fuisse Episcopos Hieron. & textus sequens ostendit, dicens, oportet Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse. (b) *Bucer, de Regno Christi lib. 2. cap. 12. Ex perpetuâ Ecclesiarum observatione ab ipsis Apostolis videmus visum hoc esse Spiritui Sancto, ut inter Presbyteros unus Ecclesiarum & totius Sacri Ministerii gerat curam singulorum, & cunctis præerat aliis quâ de causâ Episcopi nomen hujusmodi Ecclesiarum Curatoribus est peculiariter attributum: tametsi hi sine Presbyterorum consilio nihil statuere debuerant. qui & ipsi propter hanc communem Ecclesiarum administr. rationem Episcopi in scripturis vocantur.* (c) *Isaack Casaubon. Exercit. Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi apertis Scripturæ testimoniis sunt fundati. Ibid Apostolorum hodie vicarii sunt, etsi non pari potestate cum Apostolis omnes Episcopi, ut è B. Cypriano antea dicebamus. Exercit. 14. Cyprian. Ep. 65. Apostolis vicariâ ordinatione succedere Episcopos.*

All these and other the former confessions of Protestant Divines are the proper idiom, and language of primitive Antiquity, teaching thus. *Episcopacy is by the Ordination of Christ.*

So (d) *Ignatius*: and againe, (e) *Reverence your Bishop as Christ and the Apostles have commanded you.* Or thus, *To be a divine power, the resistance whereof is against God himselfe*: So *Cyprian*. And thus, *God placed Bishops over his family*: So (f) *Origen*. And thus, *The Apostles were made Bishops by Christ, who ordained others (meaning Bishops) in other places, by whom the Church should be govern'd*: (g) So *Augustin*. Or thus, (h) *Bishops constituted over Presbyters, as the Word of God teacheth*: So *Epiphanius*. And thus, (i) *None can be ignorant that Bishops were ordained by Christ when he made his Apostles, by whom others should be made Bishops, whom we succeed, and (speaking of Bishops) of whom Christ said, he that despiseth you, despiseth me*: So againe *Augustine*.

Before we end this point we shall desire our Opposites to bethinke themselves what they thinke may signifie the suffrages of the Fathers of the Synod of *Calcedon*, for *Antiquity*, one of the first foure Generall; And in this *generality* universally receiv'd throughout Christendome, for *amplitude* consisting of six hundred and thirty Bishops, and for *aversnesse* against the Pope of *Rome*, that which undermin'd the very foundation of Romish Popedome, which is a pretence of having beene established by the divine Authority of Christ the universall Bishop of the Church, and equalling another Patriarch with him, and shewing that all the Primacy which the Pope of *Rome* had, was but from humane Authority. This (k) Councell concerning Episcopacy ordain'd, that *To depose a Bishop downe to the degree of Presbyter, is Sacriledge.*

This so great a Harmony, betweene the former Protestant Divines, and those eminent Fathers, how shall it not sound delightfull unto every docible and unpreoccupated hearer? These confessions notwithstanding, we have not discharg'd

(d) *Ignatius illam formam Episcopalem Διὰ τάξιν τῆς Θεῦ. Teste Scultetо in Titum.*

(e) *Cyprian Epist. 65. ad Rogat. Quod si nos aliquid facere contra Deum audemus, qui Episcopos facit. Et Epist. 27. ad Lapsos cum igitur divinâ lege fundata sit &c. Epist ad Cornel. Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimem ac divinam potestatem.*

(f) *Origen. Tract. in Mat. 31. cognoscunt Episcopi quòd hoc non vos salvat, quod constituit eos Dominus super familiam ejus &c.*

(g) *August. in quæstion. veter. & novi Testament. pag. 97. Nemo ignorat Salvatorem nostrum Episcopos instituisse, quando Apostoli facti sunt, qui missi sunt ut mittere possint alios; Ipse enim imprimit Apostolos instituit Episcopos.*

(h) *Epiphanius adversus Aërium Θεῖος λόγος διδάσκει. De Hæres. 75.*

(i) *August. lib. 7. contra Donatist. cap. 42. De Apostolis à Christo missis, quibus nos successimus eâdem potestate Ecclesiam Dei gubernantes: & de Verb. Domini Serm 24. Qui vos spernit, me spernit &c.*

(k) *Concil Calced. Can. 29.* Τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τὸν βαθμὸν πρεσβυτέρου φέρειν ἱερόσυλία ἐστί.

our

our Aſſumption, untill we produce their *proofes*, which is to be perform'd according to our former promiſe, after that we ſhall manifeſt the like *confeſſions* of Proteſtant Divines and accordance to Antiquitie, in acknowledging Epiſcopacy to be the *beſt* forme of Government in reſpect of the uſe thereof.

IV. THESIS.

That Epiſcopall Government in the Church, is, in reſpect of the neceſſary uſe thereof, the beſt *by the conſent of Proteſtant Divines of other reformed Churches.*

SOme peradventure will conceive, that *three* at the leaſt being required in the degree of compariſon, to make up a *beſt*: Therefore our three muſt be taken either for *Epiſcopacy*, which is a Prelacy of one above more; or *Presbytery*, which is an equality of moe among themſelves; or that which is called an *Independency*, of one in each Pariſh without relation to any other. Which miſ-begotten brat was never heard of in ancient times, or approv'd of any latter Church of Chriſt ſince; and indeed is but the erecting of a Pope in every Pariſh, whereof ſomething * hereafter. It will be ſufficient that we underſtand a *beſt* in the full latitude with compariſon of whatſoever other.

* See hereafter.

Our Proteſtant Witneſſes we ranke into two Claſſes; Firſt is the Church of the *Lutherans*, who were the firſt Reformers of our *Proteſtant Religion*. (a) If our Reader will be pleaſed but to caſt his eye upon the Marginalls, he may finde out theſe following obſervables, *viz.* that *Luther* will be known, when he complained of Biſhops, to have meant *over tyrannous (Popiſh) Biſhops, and them*, (as he ſaith) *who are unworthy of the*

(a) *Luther: tom. 2 fol. 307. Plus illis tribue, quàm merentur, qui eos tam ſancto & veteri nomine dignor. Lupos enim & canes appellare oportet, & fol. 320. Nemo contra ſtatum Epiſcoporum, & veros Epiſcopos i el bonos paſtores dictum puter quicquid cóntra hos Tyrannos dicitur. Apol. Confeſſ. Aug. cap. de numero & uſu Sacramenti. Nos ſæpe proteſtati ſumus ſummâ cum voluntate conſervare Politiam Eccleſiaſticam & gradus in Eccleſiâ factos etiam ſummâ authoritate. lib 4. cap. Proteſtant. de unitat. Eccleſ ut ſchiſmata vitarentur acceſſit utilis ordinatio ut ex multis Presbyteris eligeretur Epiſcopus qui regeret Eccleſiam docendo Evangelium, & retinendo Diſciplinam, ut præeſſet presbyteris, &c.*

Holy name of Bishop; next, that all Protestant Churches of *Germany* in their generall Confessions, *had* (as they say) *often protested their earnest desire to conserve the discipline of degrees in the Church by the Authority of Bishops, whereby to remove dissensions and Schismes from the Church*, Then that (*b*) *Melanchthon, by the perswasion of Luther*, was as much bent for Episcopall Government as any, when he burst out into this expression; *I would to God it lay in me to restore the Government of Bishops, for I see what a Church we shall have, the Ecclesiasticall Policy being dissolv'd, I foresee it will be farre more intolerable then ever it was.* There is added to this the acknowledgement of *Bucer*; *Holding it necessary, that the Clergy have those*, (speaking of Bishops) *to whom the Authority of the Church is committed*: His reason, *least that refractory and dissolute persons should be in the Church.* Prince *Anolt*, after he became a sincerely profess'd Protestant and faithfull Preacher of the Gospell, speaking of Bishops, that would be faithfull in governing the Church: (*c*) *How willingly, and with what gladnesse of heart, would we* (saith he) *reverence, obey, and yeeld them their ordination and jurisdiction, the which we and* Luther *have very often protested, both by word and writing.*

We now passe unto the other Classes of Protestant Divines, of Reformed Churches, beginning with *Calvin* himselfe, who hath a double intuition concerning Presbyteriall Government. One as it may be considered is in an Independency; so that every one have *a Right of excommunication in himselfe*: (*d*) this he calleth, *unprofitable, odious, and such as easily*

(b) *Phil. Melanct. Hist. conf. Aug. pag. 365. Teste Sarav. de Minist. gradibus cap. 16. Quanquam ut ego quod censeã dicam, utinam possem administrationem restituere Episcoporum. Video enim qualem simus habituri Ecclesiam dissolutâ politiâ Ecclesiasticâ. Video postea futuram Tyrannidem multò intolerabiliorem, quàm unquam fuit. nihil concessimus præter ea Lutherus censuit esse reddenda. Melanchthon citat Bucerum disciplin cleric. Quia omnino necesse est ut Clerici suos habeant Curatores atque Custodes instaurandos, ut Episcoporum, ita & Archiepiscoporum, aliarumque omnium, quibuscunque nominibus censeantur potestas & animadversio, ne quis omnia fit in hoc ordine αοεγεντ Θ.* (*c*) *Georgius Princ Anholt. Concion. In præfat. de Ordinatione Teste Saravia pag. 267. utinam sicut gerunt nomina & titulos, ita se reipsâ præstarent Episcopos. Si fideliter Ecclesias regerent, quàm libenter, quantâque cordis lætitiâ, pro Episcopis ipsos habere, revereri, morem gerere, debitam jurisdictionem & ordinationem eis facere, eâque sine ullâ recusatione frui vellemus.* (*d*) *Calvinus Epistol. ad Gasparum Magnum. utile fuit jus excommunicandi permitti singulis pastoribus, nunc ea res odiosa est, & facilis est lapsus in Tyrannidem, & Apostoli alium usum tradiderunt.*

turneth into Tyranny, and contrary to that which the Apoſtles taught. Next beholding them in a joynt parity, he relateth the reaſon of the firſt beginning of Epiſcopacy, and ſaith truely, (e) *That by the parity and equality among Presbyters,* (*as it uſeth to be*) *Schiſmes and diſſentions might ariſe among them.* This Parentheſis [*as it uſeth to be*] which he inſerteth, certainly hath in it a ſting, which pierceth into the bowells of the cauſe. Succeſſour to *Calvin* was *Beza*, who thus far ſucceedeth him alſo in his opinion, as (f) to confeſſe (as he ſaith) from experience, this of the Presbyterian Government, *That it being not ſufficient to repreſſe vices, choice was made of one to governe the reſt, as was obſerved anciently* (ſaith he) *from the Evang. Marke in the famous Church of Alexandria:* Againe, ſpeaking of the inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, what ſoever it was, he *will be known to abhor & reprehend it, as erected by pride*: But why? *For none can deny* (ſaith he) *but that there was great uſe of it whilſt that goodly and godly Biſhops were chiefe over others.*

We may well preſume (as was ſaid) that the other part of the miſquoted ſentence of *Zanchie* is extant in ſome Impreſſion of his Works, wherein he did ſo ſymbolize with the forecited Sentence of *Calvin*, (g) *Teſtifying before God* (for theſe are the words) *that he holdeth them Schiſmatickes, who ſhall determine, that in the reſt duration of Churches there ought to be no Biſhops, having authority over Presbyters, where freely they may be had.* He proceedeth furthermore, *I thinke with* Calvin ſaith he, *them to be worthy of whatſoever* Anathema, *who will not*

(e) *Calv. inſtit. lib. 4 cap. 2. & Tom. 7. fol. 218. Presbyterum in ſuo numero ex ſingulis civitatibus unum eligebant, cui ſpecialiter titulum Epiſcopi dabant, ne ex aqualitate ut feri ſolet, diſſidia naſcerentur.*

(f) *Beza de diverſ. Miniſtrarum gradibus cap. 23. apud Sarav. p. 386. Ipſâ tandem experientiâ compertum fuiſſe, non ſatis virium eos habuiſſe ad improbos compeſcendos, communicatâ viz. ſingulis & illum quidem cum præſertim obſervatus eſſet, & rurſus, abſit ut hunc Ordinem, etſi merâ divinâ diſpoſitione non conſtitutum, tamen aut ut temerè, aut ſuperbè inventum reprehendam, cujus potius magnum uſum fuiſſe, quandiu boni & ſancti Epiſcopi Eccleſiis præfuerunt, quis inficiari poſſit?*

(g) *Citat. per Petrum Moulin: filium Hieron. Zanch. Theſibus de verâ reformandarum Eccleſiarum ratione. Teſtor me coram Deo in mea conſcientiâ non alio habere loco quam Schiſmaticorum illos omnes, qui in parte Reformationis Eccleſiarum ponunt nullos habere Epiſcopos, qui authoritatis gradu ſuos compresbyteros emineant, ubi liquidò poſſint haberi. Præterea cum D. Calv nullo non Anathemate dignos cenſeo, quotquot illi Hierarchiæ, quæ ſe Domino Jeſu ſubmittit, ſubjici nolunt.*

be subject to their government, which submitteth it selfe to Christ. So he, furthermore concerning the testimonies, as I may so say, of Ecclesiasticall Government, (*h*) *Zanchie* confessed Episcopacy to have beene ordained for the best end, to wit, the edification of the Elect. The sentence of *Calvin* hath beene formerly alleadged; Unto these we adde the saying of the Proloquutour in the Synod of *Dort*, who is rendred unto us, by them that heard him, to have *wished, That the Church with them were so happy as our English, by having an Episcopall Government among them.* This case was so evident to a late Advocate for Presbyters, *Salmasius* by name, that although he relucteth justly against an irregular Prelacy, yet doth he freely and ingenuously grant, *That* (*i*) *the preferring of one Bishop in every Church, was instituted with best reasons.*

Would any see more? Then he is to observe the Protestation made by the German Divines in the Augustane confession, protesting their desire *for the conservation of Episcopacy*; whereof it is testified by a (*k*) Theologicall professour, that other Protestants were ready to subscribe to the Augustane Confession, (*per omnia*) excepting onely the Article of the *Eucharist*, because it was not clearly explain'd: among these Protestants he names *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Vermilius*, *Marlorat*, and *Zanchius*, which probably could not have beene altogether true, if they had beene adversaries to the foresaid Protestation.

Before we can conclude, we returne to *Geneva* to be satisfied in a maine question; which is, whether the forme of Government in *Geneva* ought to be prescribed as a patterne to other Reformed Churches to be regulated thereby: and

(h) *Zanchius Pag. 7. in suâ confessione.* *Quid certius ex historiis, ex conciliis, ex omnium patrum scriptis, quàm illos Ministrorum Ordines, de quibus dicimus cum totius Reipubl. Christianæ consensu in Ecclesiâ constitutos & receptos fuisse? Quis autem ego sum qui quod tota Ecclesiâ approbat, improbem? neque omnes docti viri nostri temporis improbare ausi sunt, quippe quod norunt & licuisse hæc Ecclesiæ, & ex pietate atque ad optimos fines pro ædificatione electorum ea omnia fuisse perfecta & ordinata: quid quòd in Ecclesiis protestantium non desunt Episcopi.*

(i) *Walo, alias Salmasius lib. de Episc. p. 413. Episcopus Ecclesiis regendis unicus præpositus est qui & presbyteris pluribus unus Ecclesiæ præsset. Bono fine hoc institutum esse nemo negat, cum optima ratio fuerit ita instituendi.*

(k) *Conradus Vorstius in Apol. pro Eccles. Orthodox, de Augustan. confess. pag. 285. In Colloquio Possiacano Augustanæ confessioni per omnia se subscribere paratos esse, relati sunt, præterquam Articulo doctrinæ de Eucharistiâ, utpote obscuriùs positâ.*

when

when we conſult with (*l*) *Beza* about this very poynt, he telleth us, that this opinion was imparted unto their Church, but in the name of the whole Church of *Geneva* rejecteth it as *A moſt falſe and impudent* exprobration. After this compariſon made by weight and ponderation, we ſeeke to try what may be done by computation and numbring.

(l) *Beza c. 21. pag. 343. apud Sarav. Quod falſiſſimè & impudentiſſimè nonnulli nobis objiciunt, cuiquam uſpiam Eccleſiæ ſequendum noſtrum peculiare exemplum præſcribamus, imperitiſſimorum illorum ſimiles, qui nihil, niſi quod ipſi agant, rectum putant.*

V. THESIS.

That the moſt Proteſtant Churches doe profeſſe and practice a Prelacy over Presbyters.

MAny now look upon our Engliſh Biſhops as birds upon owles, yet not peradventure ſo, as they for ſtrangeneſſe or for reverence; but with left eyes in an opinion of ſingularity and onelineſſe, as a thing not acknowledged in other remote and Reformed Churches of Proteſtants; not conſidering what hath beene publiſhed to the world long-agoe, that the word *Superintendent* is of the ſame ſignification with the word *Biſhop*: both from the ſame Greeke, Ἐπίσκοπος. Yet ſome Proteſtant Churches practiſing a Prelacy, vayle it over with the word *ſuperintendency*: If we would know what, (*a*) *Zanchie* will ſpeake our, and to the purpoſe, in telling us *that Epiſcopi* (whom we call Biſhops) *and Superintendents are words of the ſame ſenſe and ſignification: and therefore where there is an agreement in the thing ſignified, there ought not to be any altercation and ſtrife about words.* But what will he ſay to the practiſe? he diſtinguiſheth Proteſtant Churches in this reſpect into three differences, ſome whereof practiſe a ſuperiority of one above the Clergy under the *proper name of Biſhops*; an-

(a) *Zanchius in ſuâ confeſſione. fuit mihi præterea habenda ratio illarum etiam Eccleſiarum, quæ licet Evangelium complexæ ſint, ſuos tamen, & te & nomine habuerunt Epiſcopos, quos (mutatis bonis græcis nominibus in malè latina) vocant Superintendentes & Generales Superintendentes; ſed etiamubi neque vetera illa bona Græca neque hæc nova malè Latina verba obtinent, ibi tamen ſolent eſſe aliquot primarii, penes quos fere tota eſt Authoritas. Sed cum de rebus convenit quid de nominibus altercamur? Teſte Sarav de Miniſtrorum gradibus, c. 23. p. 365.*

other ſort the ſame, but under the name of *Superintendents* and *Generall Superintendents*, whom we call *Arch-Biſhops*. Laſtly, he diſcloſeth a third kinde, (*a circumſtance very remarkeable*) who although they avoid the Titles of Biſhops or Superintendents, yet uſe they to be ſuch *primaris*, as to ſay, *eminent in Prelacy*, as in whom (for ſo he ſaith) *the whole Authority conſiſteth*. Now therefore our queſtion muſt be, whether the Church exercciſing Prelacy, or the other, that onely practiſe equality exceed in number.

The number of Churches, which had Prelates under the name of Biſhops, and the other of Superintendents (being in ſignification the ſame) ſeemed to *Greg. de Valentia* the Jeſuite ſo many, that he thought all Proteſtant Churches to have Biſhops.

An excellent ſervant of God Doctor *Duraus*, and a zealous hunter after the beſt game, which is, *the generall peace of Proteſtant Churches among themſelves*, hath ſet downe a Catalogue of the Churches reform'd on both Parties, and reckoneth (if I be not miſtaken) ſeven Biſhops in the Kingdome of *Swede*: in *Denmarke* Biſhops, in other Lutheran Churches Superintendents, and in all Imperiall Cities among the Proteſtants, beſides divers other reform'd Churches the like; which we ſuppoſe will rather keepe their conformity with *England*, then taſt new wine with others, ſeeing that, as the Text ſaith, *Luk. 5. 39. **The old is better*: and whether the Epiſcopall forme be not the onely and Apoſtolicall cometh now to be diſcuſſed by inquiring into Antiquity.

VI. THESIS.

That the former reaſons of Confeſſions of Proteſtant Divines, concerning the neceſſity of Epiſcopall Prelacy, for preſervation of concord, and preventing of Schiſme, is correſpondent to the judgement of Antiquitie.

IT would be worth our knowledge to underſtand, that the former Confeſſions of Proteſtants Divines are, in effect, but the

the ecchoings unto the ſentences of ancient Fathers. Among whom, *Hierome* could tell us, (a) *That the originall of Epiſcopacy* (which is the placing of one Presbyter in a degree above others) *was decreed throughout the whole world, for taking away Schiſme*: which uſe thereof was held ſo neceſſary in the dayes of Antiquity, that the ſaid *Hierome* ſpared not to affirme, (b) *That the ſafety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of a Biſhop, to whom except ſome eminent authority be given, there will be as many Schiſmes, as there are Prieſts in the Church.* So he, and before him *Tertullian* thus, (c) *The Biſhop is for the honour of the Church, which being in ſafety, our peace will be alſo ſafe.* But how (d) *Chryſoſtome* and *Gregory Nyſſen* doe illuſtrate, both affirming the ſame neceſſity of a Biſhop in the Church, *as is a Precentor in a Quire, a Governour in a Campe, and a Pilot in a Ship.* By which Epiſcopall order (ſaith (e) *Baſil*) the Church is reduced as one ſoule into communion and concord: yea, and before all theſe; (f) *Cyprian* Biſhop and Martyr, complained of ſuch inſolencies of Preſbyters againſt their Biſhops, as being *cauſes of hereſies and ſchiſmes againſt a divine power of Government.* So he; Theſe, will ſome ſay, are but their ſayings, and ſhall we therefore thinke that their ſayings were not the ſymbolls and expreſſions of their meaning? but we preſume better of them that are ingenuous, and the rather for their further ſatisfaction which may be had in the next Theſis.

(a) *Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Evagr. Omnes Epiſcopi (ubicunque ſunt loçorum) Succeſſores ſunt Apoſtolorum. Ad Evagr. Quòd poſted unus eſt electus qui præponeretur cæterù, in Schiſmatis remedium factum eſt, ne quiſquam ad ſe trahens Eccleſiam Chriſti corrumpat.*

(b) *Hieron. adverſ. Lucif. Eccleſiæ ſalus ex ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate pẽdet, cui niſi exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas, tot in Eccleſiâ efficientur Schiſmata quot Sacerdotes.*

(c) *Tertull. lib. de Baptiſmo, Epiſcopus propter Eccleſiæ honorem, quo ſalvo ſalva eſt Pax.* (d) *Nyſſen. Hom. in Eccleſiaſt. ut Chorus ad Choriphæum reſpicit nempè ſuum ductorem, nauta ad Gubernatorem & Acies ad Imperatorem; ita etiam ad Eccleſiam ii, qui præſunt in cœtu Eccleſiæ. Chryſoſtom. orat. in dicta Apoſtoli* Omnia in gloriam Dei] *Quemadmodum Chorus Præcentorem, & nautarum multitudo Gubernatorem requirit ſic & Sacerdotum cœtus Pontificem, &c.* (e) *Baſil. in Epiſt. ad Eccleſ. Ai. de Epiſcopis Membra Eccleſiæ hâc dignitate tanquam unâ quadam animâ in concordiam, & communionem reducẽtur.* (f) *Cyprian. Epiſt. Unde Hereſes, unde Schiſmata, niſi quòd Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperent, qui eſt loco Chriſti Judex. Idem Epiſt. 55. Actum eſt de Epiſcopatûs vigore, & de Eccleſiæ gubernandæ ſublimi ac divinâ poteſtate, &c.* (where he ſpeaketh of himſelfe, and not of the Biſhop of Rome)

VII. THE-

VII. THESIS.

That Bishops primitively were not onely the chiefest champions for the Christian faith, but also the greatest adversaries to Romish Popedome, as have also our English.

Smectym. in their vindication.

BEfore we can begin the proofe of this Theſis, we are confronted by our Oppoſites againſt Primitive Fathers in ſtrange termes, *Biſhops by advancing the authority of Epiſcopacy did thereby* (ſay they) *but plead their owne cauſe, and made a ſtirrop for the Romiſh Antichriſt to mount into his Pontificall ſaddle.* So they. Which contumely againſt the reverend antiquity, we are loath to call by its proper name; being therefore not to reprove others, but to prove what we have in hand, which is that ſome of the ancient Biſhops lived in the torrid zone of fiery perſecution, and others in a temperate. Of the firſt ſort we have it confeſſed, That the perſecuting Emperours did, above all others, make their Inquiſitions and exerciſes of their furies moſt eſpecially upon Biſhops; we have it upon record in *Cyprian*, but much more in other Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories, wherein, as is confeſſed by (a) Maſter *Brightman*, *although* Diocleſian *in his Edict, did eſpecially command the deſtruction of all that had taken ſacred Orders, yet in a further* (b) *ſpeciality the maſſacring of Biſhops; he relateth that one hundred and ſixty of them were martyred in two places*; yea, *and in the Church of* Rome *it ſelfe is alſo reckoned the number of* 25 *Biſhops, who were Martyrs of Chriſt in thoſe primitive ages.* To fancie that theſe afflicted and perſecuted Members of Chriſt for their degree ſake, could pride it in their Epiſcopall office, would be held to be but a dreame, they will rather thinke, that if they ſhould prelate it, (as Mariners uſe to frolike it) rather in a calme of tranquillity; but for this alſo we ſhall eaſily ſubſcribe to the judgement of Maſter *Beza*, who when he was thus poſed, whether he ſhould impute the note of pride unto theſe Primitive ſervants of God, (whoſe names have alwaies beene celebrious in the Church of Chriſt (to

(a) Brightman. *in Apocalyps. Diocleſiani tẽporibus erant atrociſſimæ clades, ſed tamen fideles ad extremum certamen conſtanter perſtitetunt, reportantes Trophæa victoriæ corporis ſtigmata.*

(b) *Complures Epiſc. inſignes erant in Concilio Niceno; & quorſum qui hiſtoriam ſcripſit, meminit centum & ſexaginta Epiſcoporum, qui in Sagaſanâ extincti ſunt, & in provincias edicto Regis proferantur ut delerentur univerſi qui ſacros ordines habuerint.*

(to wit) *Basil*, *Nysse*n, *Nazianzen*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and *Augustine*, who are knowne to have afterwards had Episcopall Government in their severall Churches) answereth, saying, (c) I never heard any speake, or read any write otherwise then honourably of those men, as was meete. So he, of his time; he could not propheſie of the future. It were good, that these who use this new and broad language had considered, * That Bishops were then almost the onely ones, who, as occasion fell out, either pulled the Romish Pope out of his Saddle when he was mounted, or else pluckt away his Stirrop, that in those times he could not get up. For whereas Popedome, being a double usurpation one of plenitude of Authority, † universall over Bishops; and the other of an infallibility of judgement in determining all Controversies of Faith, it hath beene evidently and copiously proved, that the amplitude of his Diocesse was limited by three hundred Bishops in the Generall Councell of *Nice*. His pretended right of Universall Authority was contradicted *an.* 553. by six hundred Bishops in the Councell of *Calcedon*, where we finde it accounted to be but of Humane Authority against his pretended universall challenge of appeale to *Rome*, it was twice contradicted by Bishops in two Councells in *Africk*; and as for his pretended infallibility in judgement, the 165 Bishops in the Councell of *Constantinople* condemned the Decree of Pope *Vigilius*; and in the sixth and seventh Councells, consisting in all of 603 Bishops, was Pope *Honorius* condemned for an Heretique. We may not omit the mention of singular persons Bishops, who have had their solemne oppositions against the Popes of their times, *Cyprian*, *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, *Hilary* of *Arles*, and *Augustine*, with many others. But what talke we of Bishops in other Sees? seeing we have in the See of *Rome* it selfe one, who did prejudice the pretended and usurped dignity and authority of all his Successours in condemning the pretence of the highest Title and Prerogative which the Pope doth challenge; which is to be called, *The Universall Bishop of Christs Church*, by judging it to be proud, prophane, and blasphemous, and the

(c) *Beza de Ministrorum gradibus, c. 25. pag. 543. apud Saravian. Neminem adhuc audivi loquentem, neque legi scribentem, qui non honorificè, sicut par est, de magnis illis suorum temporum hominibus sentiat: nempe Nazianzeno, Nisseno, Basilio magno, Athanasio, Cypriano, Chrysostomo, Ambrosio, Augustino.*

* *Iren. lib. 5. adversus hæres. cap. 20.*

† See the booke intituled, *The Romish Grand Impostor*, throughout.

the Bishop we meane was Pope *Gregory* the first, whom Mr. *Brightman* hath adorned with this *Encomium*, * *The flying Angell mentioned*, Apoc. 8. 13. *whose lustre*, saith he, *God would use for the Church.* As for our Church of *England* since the Reformation, it hath beene conformable to the Primitive. Surely greater faithfulnesse could not be showne then in the seale of Martyrdome, nor more opposition to Popedome, then to cut off all dependence upon it by the necke ever since, nor this more by any then in Bishops, as our Ecclesiasticall monuments have recorded; not to mention the writings publique in confutation of all Popish errours and Heresies, onely let it be lawfull for us to point at, the last Synod and Convocation was vehement against Popery, as (for this is spoken by him that was absent from it) any one may read. After these Confessions of Protestant Divines we are to ascend higher to our proofes, for evincing the same to be according to the word of God, as Apostolicall; first from Antiquity, and after from the word of God it selfe.

* Mr. *Brightman*, in *Apoc.* cap. 8. 13. cited hereafter.

Our first proofe, that Episcopacy is *according to the word of God*, by manifesting it to have beene of Apostolicall Institution by necessary reasons.

VIII. THESIS.

That to be of Apostolicall Institution, argueth in it a divine Right, by the Confession of excellent Divines of the Reformed Churches.

FRom the Church of *Geneva*, we have before us Mr. *Beza* to deliver his owne words. (a) *Surely if Episcopacy had proceeded from the Apostles, I would not doubt to ascribe unto it a divine Ordinance.* So he. This is plaine; Secondly, From the Churches within the Palatinate *Scultetus* by name, argueth accordingly. (b) *The Apostles placed Bishops*

(a) *Beza tract. de Ministr. gradibus c. 25. Certè si ab ipsis Apostolis esset profecta hæc mutatio, non vererer illam ut cæteras Apostolicas Ordinationes divinæ in totidem distinctionem tribum.*

(b) *Scultetus observat in Tit. esse juris divini. Ratio. Apostoli præfecêre Presbyteros*

above

above Presbyters, and therefore is Episcopacy of divine Institution. A third, properly call'd *Salmasius*, out of the University, and Church of *Leiden* in the *Low-Countries*, one of great fame, and a profes'd friend unto our Opposites; and notwithstanding confesseth, saying, (c) *If the Institution of Episcopacy* (saith he) *be from the Apostles, then it is of divine Right.* So they. Certainly, because what power was ordained by the Apostles proceeded from the Spirit of God: like as was their decree against *Strangled and Blood*, their *Holy-kisse*, their *Agape*, and the like in their first Institution.

(c) *Wale alias Salmasius lib. de Episc. pag. 422. Institutio Episcopi si ab Apostolis, est Jure Divino.*

And although these were abrogated in time, yet the necessity of perpetuating Episcopacy standeth upon two grounds, one is the first reason of institution thereof, which was, for avoyding Schisme; the other was, the universall continuance thereof from Age to Age, upon experience of the same reason: which as we have heard, hath beene held most reasonable, to almost all Protestant Divines of remote Churches. Now therefore, that which we are to make good is onely our Assumption, to wit, that Episcopacy was of *Apostolicall Institution*, then which nothing almost can be more evincible, if testimonies from Antiquity, evidences out of Scriptures, and upon both these, the confessions of Protestant Divines of the Reformed Churches may be held satisfactory, our first endeavours concerning Antiquity, for this performance must be to remove objections which our opposites cast in our way. The onely peremptorily objected Ancients are these two, *Hieron.* and *Clemens*, both whom we are now to salute.

IX. THESIS.

That no Ancient Father absolutely dewyed the Apostolicall Originall of Episcopacy, no not the objected Hierome *who will shew himselfe a manifest Patron thereof.*

THe objected sentence of (a) *Hierome*, saying, concerning Episcopall Prelacy, *That it is rather by the custome of the*

(a) *Hieron. in 1. ad Tit. Sicut Presbyteri sciant se Ecclesiæ consuetudine iis, qui sibi præpositi sunt esse subjectos, ita Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quàm dispositionis Dominicæ veritate Presbyteris esse majores, & in communi debere Ecclesias regere.*

Church, then by the Lords disposall, is confessed by the Theologicall Protestant Professour in the University of *Heidelberg* to be understood, (*b*) *by the decree of the Lords disposall*; the immediate ordinance of Christ, in his dayes upon earth, and affirming the *Custome, happily, to have meant the Apostolicall custome* after they began the forming and framing of the Churches. However, for this one place objected against us, we have many most evident Testimonies out of *Hierome* himselfe, to prove the first institution of Episcopacy to have been indeed *Apostolicall.*

(b) *Scultet. observat in Tit.* c. 8. *Nisi forte consuetudinem Ecclesiæ pro consuetudine Apostolicâ, et dispositionis Dominicæ veritatem pro instituto Christi capiat.*

First is from the originall occasion, whereunto he alludeth, even the contention in the Church of *Corinth*, when (*c*) *some held of* Paul, *some of* Apollo, *some of* Cephas, whereof it is confessed by the forecited Palatinate Doctour, (*d*) *That the words of the Apostle will not suffer me* (saith he) *to doubt, but that alteration was made in the dayes of the Apostles*, and his confirmation is as doubtlesse; namely, because no man can produce any other originall of the questioned Schisme and contention. This is a chiefe poynt, and therefore we desire to heare what (*e*) *Vedelius* the Divine Professour in *Geneva* will say unto it. He handleth the matter accurately, which is to be reserv'd to its proper place. In summe out of *Ignatius* the disciple of the Apostles he sheweth the difference of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* begun timely in the Church even presently after the contention to the Corinthians, whereof it is sayd, some held of *Paul*, and some of *Apollo*, and some of *Cephas.*

(c) *Hieron. in* 1 *Tit. Antequam Diaboli instinctu studia in Religione fierent diversa inter populos, Ego sum Pauli, Ego Apollinis, Ego Cephæ, communi consilio Presbyteris Ecclesiæ gubernabantur postea autem in toto terrarum orbe decretum est ut unus ex Presbyteris electus superponetur cæteris.*

Secondly, *Hierome* granteth in generall, yet distinctly of Bishops, (*f*) *That they are the Successours of the Apostles.*

Thirdly, yea he sheweth who were Successours in the very dayes of the Apostles, reckoning among others, * *Timothy, Titus, Polycarpus*, and *Evodius.*

(d) *Scultetus in Tit. Hoc captum est viventibus Apostolis, prior Epistol. ad Corinthios nos dubitare non sinit.* (e) *Videlius in Epist. Ignat. ad Philadelphenses, cap.* 14. *Discrimen illud Presbyterorum & Episcopi ut ex pluribus Epistolarum locis apparet, tempore Ignatii fuit, etenim illud valde mature ipsorum Apostolorum temporibus in Ecclesiam irrepsit statim postquam dicti cœptum est. Ego sum Pauli, Ego Cephæ, &c. Teste Hieronymo in Titum.* (f) *Hieron. in Epist. ad Evagr. Omnes Episcopi quicunque sunt (dicam) successores sunt Apostoli.* * As they are set downe in their divers Titles in his Booke, *De Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus.*

Fourthly,

Fourthly, He relateth who were first Bishops of all others after them, to wit, (g) *James* of *Hierusalem*, and *Marke* of *Alexandria*.

Fifthly, (h) he alleadgeth the Analogy betweene *Aaron* and his sonnes in respect of the Levites with Bishops and Presbyters, from (as he saith) *Apostolicall tradition*.

Sixthly, the (i) Episcopall part of Excommunication against *Vigilantius* he calleth *His Apostolicall Iron Rodde*, by *Hierome*. It were incredible if that all these Apostolicall Relations concerning Episcopacy, should not amount more to much as to make up an Apostolicall Institution thereof.

The second objected Father is *Clement*, whereof their successe will be no better, if not much worse.

(g) *Idem de script. Eccles. Jacobus minor Hierosolymitanus Episcopus, Marcus Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ primus Episcopus.*

(h) *Idem Epist. ad Evag. 58. Aaron & filii summi Sacerdotes & ut Aaron, Eleazar, & Levitæ, juxta traditiones Apostolicas hoc sunt Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi.*

(i) *Idem ad Rupert. adver. Vigilant. Miror sanctum Episcopum in cujus parochiâ Presbyter esse dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, & non virgâ Apostolicâ & ferreâ confringere vas inutile.*

X. THESIS.

That Clement *an Apostolicall Disciple, to whose arbitrement both our Opposites and we offer to yeeld our selves, doth patronize Episcopacy, as being Apostolicall.*

WEe are earnestly called upon to hearken unto *Clement* talking of a *Prophecy of a future contention which should happen about the name of Bishop*. Next, *That there is no peece of Antiquity of more esteeme, then the Epistle of* Clement *unto the Corinthians*, Then; *That this was brought to light by a learned gentleman M. Patrick Young*; and lastly for the matter it selfe, *That there is a common and promiscuous use of the word Presbyter and Bishop*.

Smectym. vind. pag. 136.

We shall answer punctually to every one, *viz.* The *Prophecy* maketh for us, the *Epistle* much more, the *Publisher* also as much as can be desired, and that Objection of the indifferency of the Words of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* is scarce worthy the mention.

We begin with the Prophecy. The Prophecy was onely.

that there ſhould be in time to come, *a contention about the word Biſhop.* If we ſhould aske our Oppoſites, when this contention was firſt knowne in times of old, they would be loth to tell us, knowing right well, that it was firſt rayſed by one *Arius*, of whom *Epiphanius* and *Auſtin* have * told us, that he broke out into Schiſme, and **becauſe he could not obtaine to be made a Biſhop*, did therefore ſpurne againſt Epiſcopacy, teaching, ſaith Saint *Auſtin, that there ought to be no difference betweene Biſhops and Presbyters*; therefore thus they may ſee the Prophecy fulfilled, both when, and in whom, if they like it. But if any ſhall boaſt, that it is fulfilled now by their preſent Oppoſalls againſt Epiſcopacy, after that it hath had approbation with a continuall uſe univerſally in the Churches of God: then have we nothing elſe to reply, but what the ſpirit of God, from the pen of the holy Apoſtle, putteth in our mouth; *If any be contentious* (ſaith he) *we have no ſuch cuſtome, nor the Churches of God*, whereby the wilfully contentious maketh himſelfe an adverſary to the Churches of God, and conſequently no way acceptable to God himſelfe.

The ſecond point which we are to diſcerne, is that, which they call identity of names of Biſhops and Presbyters: they ſhould have called it community of names, eſpecially knowing that there is no more identity in the words *Presbyter* and *Biſhop*, then there is betweene the letters of *P.* and *B.* but this was a lapſe. Therefore to our matter in hand. We anſwer, that meere names and words make but verball conſequences, to which we oppoſe a reall and Logicall conſequence *a paribus*, thus; for of the very Apoſtles of Chriſt one inſtiled himſelfe *Co-presbyter*, another himſelfe *Presbyter*, a third himſelfe *Deacon*, who are all common names with others that were not Apoſtles; and notwithſtanding, the Apoſtles themſelves in reſpect of their Offices and Functions were Governours over Presbyters, which ſheweth that the enterchangeableneſſe of names cannot conclude an indifferency of degree. But this *crambe* will be ſodden once againe, when we ſhall be occaſioned to give further ſatisfaction. As for the preſent, it may well be ſaid, *what ſhall we reed wordi, when we ſeriuſli*

and

and deeds, namely concerning this *Clement*? not onely that he maintained the distinct degrees of Episcopacy, but that also he was distinctly above Presbyters, a Bishop himselfe. Yet should not our Opposites pose us in that, where (a) *Vedelius* a Professour of *Geneva* gave them (if they have read him) some satisfaction; shewing, *that as soone as Clemens remained the sole Adjutour of the Apostles after Linus and Cletus, the name of Bishop was given unto him, and not attributed to any Presbyter or Presbyters in the Church of Rome.* So he. Is not this to the poynt; the distinguishing of times doth salve many doubts. It is meet now at length we heare *Clemens* himselfe speake. *Clemens* immediately after his relation of the aforesaid Prophecy, addeth, saying concerning the Apostles, (b) *For this cause they having a perfect foreknowledge, constituted the aforesaid, and left a description of Officers and Administers in their course, who after that they themselves should fall asleep, other godly men might succeed and execute their function.* So *Clement.* Whence it is evidently collected, that Bishops were the successours of the Apostles, because a Role and Catalogue of Bishops is frequently had in Ecclesiasticall stories, lineally deduced from the Apostles, as the most of the learned Protestants of the Reformed Churches have ever confessed. But if our Opposites cannot prove the like Catalogue of Presbyters of a primitive and right line of descent, then are they wholly to yield the cause, and that even by the judgement of *Clement*, which is now ready to be further more confessed by the exact learning of the publisher of *Clement*. This Gentleman, our Opposites call Learned, we owe him an higher title, even one exquisitely learned; he commenting upon the same Epistle of *Clement*, now objected against Episcopacy, teacheth that the right word *ἐπίσκοπος* agreeth with the word *census* in *Tertullian*, by whom it appeareth, that it was a custome in Apostolicall Churches to make a Role (for this word he held not unfit) of the Order of Bishops to bring them unto their first originall, even as saith *Tertullian*, *Polycarpus* was from *John* the Apostle in the Church of *Smyrna*, and *Clemens*, in the Church of *Rome*, from *Peter*, speaking even of this our *Clemens*, and addeth

(a) *Vedelius Exercit. 8. ad Mariam in Ignatium, cap. 3. Lino & Cleto defunctis ante Clementem, solus Clemens superstes, solus etiam Episcopi nomen retinuit, tum quia inter adjutores Apostolorum solus ipse restabat, tum quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi & Presbyteri, ita ut cæteris Ecclesiæ Romanæ Presbyteris, qui cum solo Clemente essent, nomen id non fuerit tributum.*

(b) *Clement ad Corinth. Epist.* p. 52. [illegible]

addeth of others; *and others* (saith he) *whom the Apostles constituted Bishops, from whom others might deduce their traditions and offsprings*; what is, if this be not, an inexpugnable convincement of our Opposites to prove Episcopacy to be of an Apostolicall Ordination. Yet is not this all.

Clement is further represented unto us by the same learned Publisher, as one register'd and enroll'd by antiquity as Bishop of *Rome*, in the Catalogue of the same Bishops lineally descended from the Apostles, whether in the first, second, or third ranke, it matters not; and the doubt, such as it is, is solved in the Margent by our foresaid *Geneva* Professour: And for witnesses hereunto, are cited *Optatus*, *Hierome*, *Ruffinus*, *Eucherius*, and *Photius*, set downe expressely in the same Booke, which our Opposites have objected against us; which if you would not see, or seeing not regard, all we shall say is, We are sorry for it: Yet after this our retorsion of their objected Authours upon themselves, we shall indeavour to give them further satisfaction from our selected and expresse suffrages of antiquity for the truth of Apostolicall succession of Episcopacy.

XI. THESIS.

That other Primitive Fathers before Hierome *did unanimously testifie an Apostolicall right of Episcopacy.*

NOthing can be more manifest for the first three (a) *Irenæus*, (b) *Tertullian*, and (c) *Origen*, to which we adde (d) *Augustine*, doe all professe themselves ready to deduce the succession of Bishops in the principall Sees from the dayes of the Apostles? next they instance in some Apostolicall Church,

(a) Irenæus advers. hæres. l. 3. c. 3. Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, qui nihil tale docuerunt, &c. l. 4. c. 43. Qui cum successione Episcopatûs Charisma veritatis certum acceperunt. (b) Tertull. præscript. c. 21. lib. 4. contra Marcion. cap. 5. Romanæ perinde & cæteræ extant Ecclesiæ, quæ ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constituti Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. (c) Origen in Johan. de Episc. Quod Dominus in Ecclesiâ ordinavit post Apostolos, quos in eâ primum fortiti sunt locum. (d) August. Epist. 42. Radix Christianæ societatis per sedes Apostolorum & successiones Episcoporum certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur.

even

as namely from *Ja.* the B^p of Hieruſ. & *Mark* in *Alexandria*: What ſay our Oppoſites to this? a principall one (*e*) (*Salmaſius* by name) calleth this alleadgement of *James* a Biſhop falſe and fooliſh: his reaſon was, becauſe *James* was an Apoſtle, and therefore not to keepe reſidence in one See. Firſt, be it knowne, that whatſoever this *James* was, all Antiquity rendereth him unto us a Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, (*viz.*) (*f*) *Euſebius*, (*g*) *Epiphanius*, *Hierom*, (*h*) *Egeſippus*, (*i*) *Chryſoſtom* and (*k*) *Ambroſe* the (*l*) Synod of *Trullo*: How then ſhall it become us but of yeſterdayes birth, thus to pull reverend Antiquity, by the beard, and give them the foole? Yet we may not reſtraine rationall men from reaſoning, & therefore we anſwer; that were it that *Ja.* had been an Apoſtle, yet other Proteſtant Divines of the reformed Churches, were no fooles, as Dr. (*m*) *Scultetus*, (*n*) *Zuinglius*, and Mr. (*o*) *Moulin* each one can anſwer; that notwithſtanding the proper functions of the Apoſtles, in viſiting of Countries after Countries for converſion of people, and founding of Churches; yet whether enfeebled by Age, or upon extraordinary occaſions, they might fix themſelves to one Province. But yet are we not conſtrained to this Anſwer; but furthermore tell our Oppoſites that, (which hath been (*p*) judiciouſly proved at large, that this was not *James* that Apoſtle, but *James* the Brother of our Lord; and onely an Apoſtolicall Diſciple, which may ſa-

(c) *Walo alias Salmaſ. de Epiſc. pag.* 201. *Abſurdum eſt Clementis Alexandrini commentum. & p.* 406. *Fabula eſt, quam in libri Hypotypoſeων de ordinatione, &c.*

(f) *Euſebius lib.* 7. *cap.* 8: *Jacobus, quem Scriptura fratrem Domini nominat, Hieroſolymæ Eccleſiæ ſedem accepit.*

(g) *Epiphan. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *Hæreſ.* 65. *Jacobus primus Eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ.*

(h) *Egeſippus: Apoſtolorum temporibus erat quod Jacobus cognomento Juſtus Eccleſiam Hieroſ. poſt Apoſt. accepit, ſic Hieron. de ſcriptis Eccleſiæ in Jacobo* (i) *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 33. *in Act.* 1, 15. *Jacobus Epiſc. Eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ.* (k) *Ambroſ. in* 1 *Galat. Jacobus ab Apoſtolis Hieroſol. conſtitutus eſt Epiſcopus.* (l) *Synod.* 6. *in Trullo can.* 32. *Ad ſtipulantes. enimvero hic eſt ille Jacobus, qui fixum Hieroſolymis habuit domicilium velut Ordinarius Epiſcopus, quem Paulus primo & ultimo ſuo adventu invenit in urbe Apoſtolis fere omnibus foris Evangelizantibus, Gal.* 1. *Act.* 21. (m) *Scultetus obſervat. in Tit. Jacobum ab Apoſtolis Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopum ordinatum* teſtantur patres quamplurimi. (n) *Zuinglius tom.* 2. *de Eccleſ. fol.* 48. *Apoſtoli Apoſtolorum nomina depoſuerunt, uni ſedi affixi, ſive ſenectâ impediti, aut peregrinationibus afflicti; exemplum eſto Jacobus minor Hieroſol. Epiſcopus.* (o) *Moulin lib. de Vatibus cap.* 10. *Apoſtoli* toti *Eccleſiæ invigilabant in ſolidum & indiviſum, aliquam tamen peculiarem provinciam quibuſdam Apoſtolis fuiſſe aſſignatam diſcimus ex Sacrâ Scripturâ, Gal* 2. 7. (p) *Archiepiſcopus Spalatenſis, tomo quarto.*

 tisfie

tisfie our Oppoſites, untill we come to ſpeake of their objected *Timothy* and *Titus*, called Evangeliſts; As for *Mark* if in the line of ſucceſſion of Biſhops of *Alexandria*, he onely be taken exclusively, yet muſt the Ordinance of that See be neceſſarily held Apoſtolicall.

XII. THESIS.

That the Apoſtolicall Antiquity of Epiſcopacy is confeſſedly proved out of Ignatius.

Vedelius profeſſor Genevenſis Apol. pro Ignatio. cap. 1. Ignatius Apoſtolorum diſcipulus erat; quem nemo negabit fuiſſe virum ſanctiſſimum, Eccleſiæ Antiochiæ Epiſcopum, et qui Chriſti veritati Teſtimonium præbucrit ſæviſſimo mortis genere ſub Trajano Imperatore.

Item Exercit prima in Ep. ad Trall cap. 4. §. 4. Bellar. lib. 4. de Pontifice c. 25

VEdelius that learned Divinity Profeſſor in the Academy of *Geneva*, in his moſt elaborate worke of Exercitations upon the Epiſtles of *Ignatius* for vindicating his Doctrine from the falſe gloſſes of *Bellarmine*, *Baronius* and other Romiſh writers, is copious in manifeſting the direct judgement of *Ignatius* in many notable points. Concerning *Ignatius* himſelfe he rendereth him unto us a *Diſciple of the Apoſtles*, *a Biſhop of Antioch*, *an holy man*, *and a faithfull Miniſter of Chriſt*. 2. *Concerning the cauſe againſt Bellarmine*, and others who will have Biſhops the firſt under the Pope of Rome, as the Apoſtles were under Chriſt, this he confuteth out of *Ignatius*, who taught *that Presbyters ſhould be ſubject to Biſhops*, *and Biſhops to Chriſt*. 3. Againſt Papiſts who proclaime the Pope to be Biſhop of Biſhops: he confeſſeth *Ignatius* holding the Biſhop in every Church to be the *next under Chriſt*, *and chiefe therein*. 4. *The diſtinction betweene Biſhops and Presbyters*, *was in the dayes of the Apoſtles*; and laſtly profeſſeth for himſelfe and others, that if they had a Bi-

Quemadmodum Apoſtoli primi erant ſub Chriſto, ita Epiſcopi primi ſub Pontifice. Reſp. Imo Epiſcopi non ſunt primi ſub Pontifice, ſed ſub Chriſto, niſi Bellarmino Ignatium mentitur, qui Epiſcopum nullam in Eccleſiâ habere ſupra ſe poteſtatem dicit hâc ipſâ Epiſtolâ Et Epiſt. ad Smyrnenſes. Οἱ λαϊκοὶ τοῖς Διακόνοις ὑποτασσέσθωσαν· οἱ Διάκονοι τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις· οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ. lib. c. 9. num 8. pontificii ſtatuunt Papam ut Epiſcoporum Dominum: at Ignatii tempore maximus in Eccleſiâ erat Epiſcopus, poſt. Archiep. Item Exercit. 1. cap. 2. num. 4 Ignat. in Epiſt. ad polycarp. Verbatim monent Epiſcopum officii ſui, ut agnoſcat ſe tum demum aliorum Epiſcopum eſſe, quando ipſe Epiſcoporũ principi pareat; Talibus Epiſcopis & libenter paremus. Σοφιζόμεθα ἀπὸ πνεύματος.

ſhop

ſhop ſuch as was *Polycarpus* (a Diſciple alſo of the Apoſtles) they as *Ignatius* required of the *Smyrnaans*, would willingly, *yea, neceſſarily obey him*. So he. In this Maxime we behold two Diſciples of the Apoſtles, *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus*: both Biſhops diſtinctly from Presbyters and governours: and this in the Apoſtles times. As well therefore may our oppoſites deny themſelves to have depended naturally from their own parents, as Biſhops originally from the Apoſtles. We are to purſue this yet a little further.

XIII. THESIS.

That Antiquity hath given us Rules of Reſolution for the knowledge of any Apoſtolicall practice, which may ſerve in the caſe of Epiſcopacy.

THE rule given by Antiquity, was alwayes held Catholique throughout all Chriſtian Churches of ancient times. St. *Auſtins* rule may be our firſt direction thus (a) *Whatſoever the Univerſall Church holdeth, and was not inſtituted by Councels, but alwayes kept, that muſt moſt rightly be judged to have beene from Apoſtolicall Authority*: So he: which for our purpoſe is as much as Dr. *Sculletus* moſt judiciouſly and ingenuouſly confeſs'd, that if no Interim can be ſhewne betweene the Apoſtles times, and the dayes immediately ſucceeding, when there was no Epiſcopall Government over Presbyters in the Church, then muſt the ſame have proceeded immediately from the Apoſtles. We hold this moſt reaſonable; even as if the Queſtion were, what the practice is of the Country adjoyning unto us; Our next bordering neighbours to it, would be the moſt competent witneſſes of their manners, ſuch have beene hitherto our proofes even from ſuch ancients, as either had ſeen the Apoſtles, or elſe from ſuch as had beene converſant with the immediate Diſciples of the Apoſtles. Our Oppoſites not able to inſtance in the practice of any one Primitive Church to the contrary, onely object a community of names of Presbyters and Biſhops, which ſhadow will

(a) *Auguſt. de Baptiſm. contra Donatiſt. l. 4. Quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec conſiliis inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non niſi Authoritate Apoſtolicâ traditum rectiſſimè creditur.*

will vaniſh, as ſoone as we ſhall give light by proofes of the Apoſtolicall Originall of Epiſcopacy in divers *Theſes* following, by expreſſion, confeſſion and Authorities.

XIV. THESIS.

That Proteſtant Divines of other reform'd Churches, have held it moſt equall to be directed by the judgements of Ancients for proofe of a practice Apoſtolicall.

WE pleade no other equity in this cauſe, then what *Calvin* held neceſſary againſt Anabaptiſticall Revelations, arguing negatively in this manner. *Theſe lyes,* (ſaith he) *are eaſily confuted, becauſe many were then living who had beene converſant with the Diſciples of the Apoſtles.* So he concerning doctrines. How much more convincent muſt this Argument be, when our Queſtion ſhall be of the practice of the Church in the dayes of the Apoſtles? even as is dayly done by all Chriſtian Churches, for proofe of the practice of baptizing of Infants, againſt the ſame Anabaptiſticall Faction; yea, why not alſo for the like Originall practice of Epiſcopacy, even by the confeſſion of *Proteſtant Divines of excellent judgement*: (*b*) *Beza* muſt not be neglected, telling us, *that he ought not to neglect the Ordinance of a higher degree of a Biſhop above a Presbyter, becauſe this was an ancient cuſtome in the famous Church of Alexandria.* So he. This is well, but he hath not quite told out his tale, which he doth elſwhere out of the words of (*c*) *Hierome*, ſaying namely, *that in Alexandria, from Marke the Evangeliſt, one was elected by the Presbytery,*

(a) *Calv. Tract. Theol. Eccleſ. reform. pag. 374 Irenco & Origini negotium erat cum improbis nebulonibus, qui, dum prodigioſos errores proferrent in medium, eos ſibi divinitus revelatos dicebant. Hujus mendacii facilis erat Revelatio, quòd ad huc ſuperſtites erant multi, qui familiares Apoſtolorum diſcipuli fuerunt, quibus recens erat hujus doctrinæ memoria, quam Apoſtoli tradiderunt.* (b) *Beza de Miniſt. gradibus. Pro primatu Ordinis inter Presbyteros communicato ſingulis paſtoribus per vices Primatûs dignitate, quòd viſum fuit hunc ad unum equidem totius presbyterii judicio delectum transferre, certè reprehendi nec poſſe, nec debet cum præſertim vetuſtiſſimos fuit primum presbyterum deligendo in Alexandrinâ Eccleſiâ celeberrimâ inde à Marco Evangeliſtâ obſervatus.* (c) *Beza de Miniſt. grad. cap 23. Quid autem unus electus eſt qui cæteris præponeretur, in Schiſmatis factum eſt Remedium, ne unuſquiſque ad ſe Chriſtum trahens Eccleſiam rumperet; nam & Alexandriæ a Marco Evangeliſtâ ad Heraclam uſque et Dionyſium Epiſcopos, Presbyteri unum ſemper à ſe electum in celſiore gradu collocatum Epiſcopum nominabant.*

and

and placed in a higher degree, whom they named Biſhop, which was done for a remedy againſt Schiſme. Be it then that touching this Series and order of Succeſſion, as it was ſaid of Saint *Marke* the Apoſtle, be it taken incluſively, or excluſively; it neceſſarily implyeth, that the Originall of Epiſcopacy was in the dayes of the ſame Apoſtles. Maſter *Moulin* giveth us a lowder Accent, ſaying, *that* (d) *he was never ſo hard faced, as to cenſure theſe Biſhops*: Ignatius, Polycarpe, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, *and other great lights of the Church, to have uſurped an unlawfull function in the Church of Chriſt.* So he: Alleadging among his ancients *Polycarpe*, and *Ignatius*; the firſt of which, as all the learned know, lived in the dayes of the Apoſtles, and as antiquity it ſelfe teacheth, and conſent of Proteſtant Divines of Remote Churches will afterwards grant, to have beene in the dayes of Saint *John* the Evangeliſt, the Biſhop of *Smyrna*. The other, *viz. Ignatius*, was alſo acquainted with thoſe, who had beene the Diſciples of Chriſt. Beſides, we have heard (e) *Scultetus* reſolving, *that James (not the Apoſtle) the Brother of our Lord, was Biſhop of Hieruſalem, from the plentifull teſtimonies of Antiquity it ſelfe.* We will conclude with this our proofe from the ſame Antiquity, but what? even that which (f) *Bucer* finds reſolved upon (as he ſaith) before *Hierom*. let us take his own words. *Divine Fathers more ancient then* Hierom. Cyprian, Ireneus, Euſebius, *and other Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorians ſhew, That in the Apoſtles times there was one elected, and ordayned, who ſhould have Epiſcopall function, and ſuperiority over Presbyters*; ſo

(d) *Moulin Ep. 3. ad Epiſc. Winton. Non ſum adeo oris duri ut velim adverſus illa veteris Eccleſiæ Lumina Ignatium, Polycarpum Cyprianum, Auguſtinum, Chryſoſtomum & ferre ſententiam, ut adverſus uſurpatores muneris illiciti: plus ſemper apud me potuit veneranda Antiquitas, quàm novella cujuſquam conſtitutio.* See below. The like acknowledgment will Beza give

us hereafter, (e) *Scultet. obſervat. in Titum. c. 8 ſed ego de Jacobo dicam, non illo quidem Apoſtolo ſed Salvatoris noſtri fratre.* (f) *Bucer de Anim. curâ et officio paſtor: Apud patres Hieronymo vetuſtiores clara habemus Teſtimonia, in præcipuis Eccleſiis omnibus temporibus Apoſtolorum ita comparatum eſt, ut Presbyteris omnibus quidem officium Epiſcopale fuerit impoſitum. Interim tamen Apoſtolorum temporibus unus de Presbyteris electus atque ordinatus eſt in officii ducem & quaſi Antiſtitem, qui cæteris omnibus præiret, & curam animarum, miniſteriumque Epiſcopale præcipuè & in ſummo geſſit atque adminiſtravit, quod de Jacobo legis, Act. 15. ubi Lucas Jacobum deſcribit ut Antiſtitem totius Eccleſiæ omniumque Presbyterorum*

he, inſtancing in *James*, of whom we have ſpoken who was Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*.

XV. THESIS.

That Maſter Beza *himſelfe is challengeable to yeild unto Apoſtolicall right of Epiſcopacy, from his owne former confeſſion.*

* *vide Theſin 12.*

MAſter *Beza* hath already * confeſſed concerning the famous Church of *Alexandria*, that from *Marke* the Evangeliſt, one was choſen to be placed in a degree above Presbyters, called Biſhop, is according to the Teſtimony of *Hierom*. The ſtory hereof hath beene of late publiſhed by Maſter *Selden*, the Ornament of our Nation, excellently converſant in ancient & exotick Learning, out of the Relation of *Eutycheus*, that *Mark* the Ev. placed *Anianus Patriarch* or Biſhop over Presbyters in the Church of *Alexandria*. In which book alſo, there is ſet down the full Catalogue of 18 Biſhops ſucceſſively unto *Dionyſius*, that poſſeſſed the ſame See, which proveth as plainly an Epiſcopall & perſonall ſucceſſion, by an Apoſtolicall Conſtitution from *Anianus* to *Alexandria* in a lineall ſucceſſion, as was the filiall and naturall deſcent from *Adam* to *Thara*, which makes up eighteene Generations. What need then many words? the moſt *Theſes* which have beene premiſed, and almoſt all afterwards to be propounded, do declare the ſame by joynt accordance of Proteſtant Divines of reformed Churches, and ſurffages of Antiquity. We haſten to our laſt proofe; but are areſted in our way by our Oppoſites, to anſwer two objected Teſtimonies of Antiquity.

XVI. THESS.

That the Teſtimonies of Nazianzen, *and* Auguſtine *are unworthily objected to the contrary.*

Smect. vindicat. pag. 88.

WE are urged to reckon theſe two excellent Biſhops, although in true Conſtruction they have anſwered for themſelves. *Nazianzen* (ſay our Oppoſites) muſtering up the evils that had happened unto him, reckoneth ejection

ejection out of his Episcopacy, holding it a part of wisedome to avoid it, wishing that there were no προεδρία place of President-ship, or τυραννικὴ πρωτομία or Tyrannicall Prerogative in the Church, but that they might be knowne onely by vertue. We have alleaged *Nazianzen* according to the genuine sense; So they; but so as usually in an Heterogeneall sense to inferre a necessary abnegation of Episcopacy. They who seeke ingenuously the genuine sense of Sentences in Authors must be *Janus*-like faced, looking πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω backward and forward, both which properties have been wanting to our opposites; first because before the words objected they lay before their eyes this saying of (a) *Nazianzen*; *There was a time when Episcopacy was had in great admiration, and desired of wise and prudent men*; and the second, as not considering that was then spoken onely comparatively against the Tyrannicall Government of Bishops, which by all Protestant Bishops hath beene condemned in the popish Hierarchie; besides, that this was but the breath of vexatious passion upon occasion of one *Maximus*, whom *Nazianzen* calleth a Cynicke and doggish Philosopher, because, whereas he himselfe had the generall esteeme in the Church of Christ to be, by way of excellence, called ὁ θεολόγος, the Divine, notwithstanding he was vehemently persecuted by the same unworthy Prelate, and by his circumvention disturb'd out of his Bishopricke; and therefore sensible of that indignitie, did utter the language of his hearts griefe. But why did not our Opposites tell us, that after this storme there fell a calme, when the same godly Bishop was with generall applause received to his Bishoprick againe; but especially we may complaine that they have by their silence smothered *Nazianzens* judgement concerning the cause it selfe, which is the right of Episcopacy, and which he esteemed the *most perfect kinde of Government*, So he. And is not this as much as to have held it the best? which he further declareth in his funerall Orations which he had of 3. famous Bishops, *Basil*, *Athanasius*, and *Cyprian*. *Augustine* writing to *Hierome* (b) saith, *that customs have obtained that Episcopacy should be higher then Presbytery, according to which Custom our hand*

(a) *Nazianz.* orat. 28. *Fuit tempus quando verdatè & prudentes viri Episcopatum in admiratione habuerunt & desiderabant.*

(b) *Walopag.* 355. *usus, inquit obtinuit, ut Episcopatus Presbyterio major sit secundum honorum vocabula. Ergo usu & consuetudine Ecclesiæ prius constitutum est ut Episcopi majores essent Presbyteris, tum ex re distinctâ vocabulorum etiam insequuta est distinctio.*

dignity

dignity of the words. Therefore (saith Walo) *the distinction of Episcopacy and Presbytery, was first constituted by the Church.* So he; whose Disciples our other Opposites have learned this lesson, saying, (c) If *Augustine had knowne* the majority of Bishops above Presbyters, to have beene of Divine or *Apostolicall institution, he might have said so much; nay, he would have said as much.* And we answer, if any of our Opposites had regarded to search the judgement of *Augustine*, they would not have said thus much, because it is evident that *Augustine* did say as much as they require he should have said, as hath beene shewne; saying of himselfe and other Bishops, thus; *we succeed the Apostles in the same power*, and *that Christ instituted Bishops when he ordeined his Apostles*: that we* repeate not his condemning Aërius (as *Epiphanius* did) for denying Episcopacy to have beene an institution Apostolicall; and now whether our Reader thinke it more reasonable, to yeild to the supposition of what *Augustine* would have done, or the manifestation what he did, we permit to his judgement. This obstacle thus remov'd, we fall now upon the last proofe.

(c) *Smect. Vindic. pag.* 87.

See above

Our last proofe, That Episcopacy is of Apostolicall right, & according to the word of God, even from the word of God it selfe.

To this purpose, two places of Scripture are especially to be alleadged: The Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Epistles of St. *John* in the Revelation to the seven Churches in *Asia*, which are to be discussed according to our former Method, by the consonant Testimonies of ancient Fathers; and consent of Protestant Divines of generall esteeme and approbation.

XII. THESIS.

That Timothy *and* Titus *both had a Prelacy over Presbyters, notwithstanding the objection of the community of Names of Bishops and Presbyters, is sufficiently confessed by Protestant Divines of Remote Churches.*

THere can none be held a more sufficient witnes with our Opposites, then he who hath professedly pleaded this cause

cauſein their behalfe. & notwithſtanding freely, & deerly granteth: that (a) *Timothy and Titus were indeed Governours over their Provinces and places, where the Apoſtle had appointed them; and that they had over the Presbyters a kinde of Apoſtolicall authority*, which he *in his owne judgement calleth extraordinary*, and we take him at his owne words; in granting that it was ſome way an *Authoritative* Prelacy. & for the diſtinction of extraordinary, it will by and by receive an ordinary, but a true Anſwer: yet we do not ſo much preſſe his confeſſion, as we may do his Reaſons thereof, deducted from the Texts themſelves, concerning their Prelaticall power of *ordering matters that were amiſſe*. Tit. 1. 5. *of receiving Accuſation againſt Presbyters*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. and the like.

But our other Oppoſites will needs poſe us, requiring us to anſwer their firſt Objection, *videl.* † *That the Biſhops, whoſe pedegree was derived from the Apoſtles, were no other then Presbyters*; then, this is proved, ſay they, by two inſtances: The firſt is, *The identity of their names, which* (quoth they) *is a proofe of no ſmall conſequence*, we anſwer, yea, rather of none at all: elſe was Maſter *Beza* but of ſmall judgement, when ſpeaking of the Apoſtolicall Age, he confeſſed, (b) *that the Presbytery had then a Preſident over them, yea, when the community of names* So he. *of Presbyters and Bpſ remayned among them*: accordingly as (c) Dr. *Reynolds* hath ſaid that the Presbytery had *then one, who was Preſident over them, when as yet the names of Biſhop and Presbyter were the ſame*; who furthermore concerning the time of diſtinguiſhing the name of Biſhop and Presbyter, whether ſooner or later, here or there, he ſaith. The name of Biſhop was *afterwards appropriated by the uſuall language of the fathers of the Church, to him that had the Praſidentſhip over the Elders*, So he, Hereby granting that the Preſidentſhip by Biſhops was of force before the title and name was appropriated and allotted unto them. If our Oppoſites had acquainted themſelves with theſe learned authors, they would have ſpared their paines in oppugning Epiſcopacy. How much more if they had conſulted with Gods owne Oracle in his word, wherein we finde (which

(a) *Walo lib. de Epiſc. per totum cap primum extraordinariâ miſſione & funcſione p. 70 ſic alii diſcipuli Chriſti & Apoſtolorum ejus &c. p. 229. Titum Cretæ inſulæ præfecit Paulus, qui non ſingulari in aliquâ Civitate Epiſcopus fuit, ſed totam illam provinciam ad tempus procuraret. Tales fuerunt Apoſtolorum auditores & diſcipuli, quique primi eorum ſucceſſores.* † *Smect.*

(b) *Beza de Miniſt. grad. cap. 22. Habuit jam tum Presbyterium ſuum aliquem προεδρον Presbyterum, etiam Presbyterorum manente communi appellatione.*

(c) Doctor Reynolds his conference with Hart. c. 8. diviſ. 3.

formerly we pointed at) that Saint *Peter* entitled himſelfe a *Copresbyter.* 1 *Pet.* 5. & 1. Saint *John* himſelfe a *Presbyter.* 1 *John* 1. And Saint *Paul* himſelfe thrice (he could then ſtoope no lower) a *Deacon. Col.* 1. 23. & 25. 2 *Cor.* 3. & 6. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe inferiour appellations they held ſtill the Authority of their Apoſtleſhip: we end this point in hope that our Oppoſites will take out that leſſon, which *Calvin* learnt from the divine Text in the Epiſtle of *Titus*: what's that? even our full concluſion in this cauſe. (d) *We learne from hence, that there was not then an equality* (ſaith he) *among the Miniſters of the Church; but that one was with Authority placed over others.* Their ſecond convincing objection would be diſcuſs'd.

(d) *Calvinus in Titum* 1. 5. *Diſcimus ex hoc loco non eam fuiſſe æqualitatem inter Miniſtros, quia unus aliquis authoritate præeſſet.*

XVIII. THESIS.

That Timothy *and* Titus *have had a Prelacy, as Biſhops over the Presbyters in the Apoſtles times: notwithſtanding the objection that they were called Evangeliſts, according to conſent of Proteſtants of reform'd Churches.*

IN the next place we are to examine the ſecond, and onely other objection, which our Oppoſites enforce in this caſe, to wit, † *that Timothy and Titus, with all other ſuch Diſciples of the Apoſtles, the Aſſiſtants and immediate ſucceſſors, did take care of the Churches, not as properly Biſhops, but as Evangeliſts, who had no ſetled reſidence in any of the Churches:* So they: But are encountred with other Proteſtant Divines of remote Churches in good number. For (a) *Luther* among his other Reſolutions inſerted this: *That Epiſcopacy was of divine Right*, grounding his judgement upon the Text, ſpecifying *Titus* his Government in Creete, as being conſonant to the judgement of Auguſtine.

† *Smectym. vindicat. pag.* 115.

(a) *Luther tom.* 1. *fol.* 309. *Reſolutiones ejus ſuper propoſitiones Lypſiæ diſputat. concluſ.* 13. *Probo quamlibet civitatem habere debere Epiſcopum proprium jure divino, quod ex Paulo ad Titum oſtendo dicente, (Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te Cretæ, ut quæ deſunt corrigas, & conſtituas Presbyteros per civitates, ſicut ego diſpoſui tibi) Hos autem Presbyteros fuiſſe Epiſcopos Hieron. & textus ſequens oſtendit dicens, Oportet Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem eſſe, &c. B Auguſtin. in Epiſt. ad Hieron. Epiſcop. deſcripturus rationem reddit & dicit. Erat enim Civitas quaſi diceret, non erat ſimplex Presbyter, ſed Epiſc. de quo loquor, quia erat civitas cui præerat.*

2. Their

2. Their learned (*b*) *Scultetus* ſheweth, *that at this time, they were not exercis'd in aſſiſting the Apoſtles for collecting of Churches as Evangeliſts, but for governing of them, that had beene collected*, as the generall *precepts given by the Apoſtles*, (ſaith he) *do prove thereby to become the examples and Types for the ſucceſſours to follow*: and thereupon he concludeth them to have beene the ſame, who otherwiſe were called *Evangeliſts for preaching the Goſpell*, although by their ſuperintendency Biſhops. To the ſame purpoſe (*c*) Maſter *Moulin* will have it knowen, that whatſoever *Timothy* and *Titus* had, whether as Biſhop or Evangeliſt, it was ſuch as had a *continuall ſucceſſion in the Church, which is as others confeſſe, as James had in Hieruſalem*, and *Marke in Alexandria*, which was Epiſcopall. *Titus* (ſaith (*d*) *Toſſanus*) *after his peregrinations with Paul, was appointed Biſhop of Creet*, and before theſe (*e*) *Zuinglius* confeſs'd, *that Tim. at that very time, when* Paul *advis'd him to purſue the worke of an Evangeliſt.* 2 Tim. 4. *was then Biſhop in ſome place or other, by all conſequence.*

(*f*) Dr. *Gerhard* a late famous Theologicall Authour is copious in this Argument: who in the ſame ſheweth that the word *Evangeliſt*, given to *Timothy* when *Paul* wrote unto him, was taken *in a generall acceptation*, and not as properly belonging to him, as he had beene an Aſſiſtant, *even as Luther*

(b) *Scultetus in Titum cap. 8. pa. 10. At Paulus Epheſi et in Cretâ aliquandiu docuerat, ideo Titum & Timotheum in Cretâ jubet manere, non utique ut Evangeliſtas, ſed Eccleſiæ gubernatores. Id quod etiam Epiſtolæ ad utrumque ſcriptæ evincunt: In his enim non Eccleſiæ colligendæ, quæ erat Evangeliſtarum, ſed collectæ gubernandæ, quæ eſt Epiſcoporum, rationem, illis præſcribit; ſunique præcepta omnia ita confirmata, ut*

non ſpeciatim ad Timotheum vel Titum, ſed generatim ad omnes Epiſcopos referantur. Ideoque ad Temporariam Evangeliſtarum poteſtatem minimè quadrant. (*c*) *Moulin in Epiſt. 3 ad Epiſc. Winton. Quomodo appellaveris Titum, Timotheum, & Marcum, ſeu Epiſcopos ſive Evangeliſtas? cum eos habuiſſe ſucceſſores Epiſcopos hæredes illius preminentiæ* (*d*) *Paulus Toſſanus index in Sacra Bib. Titus comes Peregrinationum Pauli, poſtea Cretenſium Epiſcopus.* (*e*) *Zuinglius tom. 2. fol. 45. Idem Epiſcopi & Evangeliſtæ nomen: nam Paulus, 2 Tim. 4. [Exvigila, apud Evangeliſtæ perage; miniſterium tuum probatum reddito] aliquo in loco tunc temporis fuit Epiſcopus, cum hæc ſcriberet Apoſtolus. Ergo conſtat idem fuiſſe Officium utriuſque.* (*f*) *Gerhard. tom. 6. De Miniſter. Eccleſiaſt. num. 227. 2 Tim. 4. Hæc quæ Evangeliſtæ. Hæc vox hoc in loco generaliter ſumitur, non ſpecialiter pro quodam Doctorum ordine, quo Timotheus conſtitutus fuerit Eccleſiæ Epheſinæ Epiſcopus, nec ulterius Paulum comitatus; ſicut etiam Lutherus reddidit ſpecialiter [dicti Evangeliſtæ erant Apoſtolorum ὑπηρέται & ἐφόδιοι, à quibus in partem muneris Apoſtolici aſciti ad diverſa loca ab illis mittebantur. In illorum Evangeliſtarum numero cenſendi ſunt Timotheus et Titus. Timotheum Lyſtriæ aſſumpſit Paulus Act. 16. poſtea eum miſit in Macedoniam Act. 19. 22. & ad 1. Cor. 4 17. Ad Phil. 2. 19. Ad Theſ. 3. c. 3. 2. Tandem vero Epheſinæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus. 1 Tim. 1. 3. Titum ὁμότροπον. 2 Cor. 8. 23. Eum miſit ad Corinth. 2 Cor. 5 6. 12. 18. Aſſumpſit ſecum Hieroſol. Gal. 2. 1. Miſit in Dalmatiam. 2 Tim. 4. 10. Tandem Cretenſium Eccleſiarum conſtituit Epiſcopum Tit. 1. 5.*

(ſaith he) *underſtood* it. Beſides he ſheweth out of Scripture exactly the ſeverall Stations, which *Timothy* had with Saint *Paul* in exerciſing his office, before that time that he was placed Biſhop in *Epheſus*.

We forbeare the full allegation of the like Authours cited by others, that we may hearken to our Engliſh Doctour *Reynolds*, nothing inferiour to any of the reſt even in the opinion of our Oppoſites themſelves, telling us of that very time, when *Paul* aſſembled the Miniſtry at *Miletum*, *Act.* 20. 28. (*g*) *One was choſen as chiefe in the Church of* Epheſus *to guide it, the ſame whom afterwards the Fathers of the Primitive Church called Biſhop.* So he. And for confirmation hereof ſheweth that which muſt indeed be impregnable, to wit, *A lineall ſucceſſion of* 27 *Biſhops* (as hath beene proved) from *Timothy* in the Church of *Epheſus*, and for ſurpluſage to all this we anſwer, to the objected reaſons propounded for *Timothy's* non-reſidence in *Epheſus* by that qualification, which (*h*) *Calvin* hath done in like caſes, namely, *that Paſtours are not ſo ſtrictly tied to their Glebe or charge, as that they may not helpe other Churches upon neceſſary occaſions.* As for the objected terme of *Evangeliſts*, we moreover anſwer from Scripture, where we finde *Philip preaching the word of God in* Samaria, *Act.* 8. 5. *Called an Evangeliſt*, *Act.* 21. 8. And yet was one of the ſeven, meaning *Deacons*, *Act.* 6. 5. Our Quære is, why *Timothy* might not as well be called an *Evangeliſt* for preaching the word, being a *Biſhop*, as *Philip* was, for the ſame cauſe, named an *Evangeliſt*, being a *Deacon*. We thinke all this ſhould be ſatisfactory, although no more were ſayd: But more we have.

(g) Dr. *Reynolds* Conference with *Hart*, *cap.* 8. *diſtinct.* 3.

(h) *Calvin. inſtitut lib.* 3. *c.* 3. §. 7. *Paſtoribus ſingulis aſſignatur ſedes, interea non negamus, quid paſtor alias Eccleſias adjuvare poſſit, qui uni eſt alligatus: ſive quid turbarum intercedat quod ejus præſentiam requirat, ſive ab eo petatur conſilium. Nec enim ſunt veluti Glebæ addicti, ut Furiſconſulti.*

XIX. THESIS.

That Antiquity taught an Epiſcopacy both in Timothy *and Titus.*

(a) *Walo, alias Salmaſ. lib. de Epiſc. pag.* 229.

OUr ſtrongeſt Oppoſite (*a*) *Salmaſius* could not but confeſſe concerning Antiquity, (although he ſpurne againſt

Titum Cretæ inſulæ præfecit Paulus, qui non ſingulari in aliquâ civitate Epiſcopus fuit, ſed totam illam provinciam ad tempus procuraret. Tales fuerunt Apoſtolorum Auditores & diſcipuli, quicunque primi eorum ſucceſſores extitere.

it)

it) *That* Chryſoſtome, Epiphanius, Theophylact, Theodoret, *and other Greeke Commentatours have collected out of the words of Paul, that* Titus *was verily Biſhop of* Creete, *and that there could not be divers* Biſhops *in one City*, which is our preſent defence, and agreeth as well to *Timothy* as to *Titus*. (b) *Hieſrome* hath recorded both *Timothy*, and *Titus* Biſhops, the one of *Epheſus*, and the other of *Creete*, to whom (c) *Ambroſe*, (d) *Primaſius*, (e) *Gregory* the Great, doe conſent: *Luther* alſo bringeth in *Auguſtine* into the ſayd *Chorus*. We haſten to our laſt Act.

(b) *Hieron. de Eccleſ. ſcript. Epheſiorum Epiſcopus à Paulo ordinatus.*

(c) *Ambroſ. in præfat. ad Timoth. c. 3. Hunc creatum Epiſcopum.*

(d) *Greg. Pap. de Curat. Paſt. part. 2. c. 11.*

(e) *Primaſius in 1 Tim.*

Our ſecond ground out of Scripture to prove a Prelacy over Presbyters, to be according to the word of God is, Rev. c. 2. 3.

In the booke of Revelation, Chriſt by his *Angell* (properly ſo called) commandeth *John* to write unto the ſeven Churches in *Aſia*, *verſ.* 1. Telling him myſtically of *ſeven golden candleſticks*, *verſ.* 13. and of *ſeven ſtarres*, *verſ.* 16. and afterwards expoundeth their meanings; *ſeven ſtarres*, to ſignifie *ſeven Angells of the ſeven Churches*; and *ſeven candleſticks*, to betoken the *ſeven Churches*, *verſ.* 20. By and by, deſcending to particulars, he directeth his ſeverall Epiſtles to the ſeverall ſeven Angells of the ſeven Churches, beginning at the Church of *Epheſus*, ſaying, *Write to the Angell of the Church of Epheſus*, and ſo of the reſt. Theſe are our Texts, which we are in diſcuſſing theſe our differences to inſiſt upon.

The State of the Queſtion.

We readily grant, that whatſoever matter was written to theſe Angells concerning either themſelves or others, were by them to be communicated ſeverally to the Churches, and all the faithfull, as they were intereſted therein, according to that *Epiphonema*, ſeverally applyed in every Epiſtle thus; [*He that hath an eare to heare, let him heare*] But the onely queſtion is, whether each of theſe Angells of the Churches were ſingular perſons, having a Prelacy over other Paſtors, and Clergy, or no? our Oppoſites ſay nay, we yea. The odds is *ex Diametro*.

We are therefore according to true method; firſt, to diſprove their negative, and after to evince our affirmation: But, in the firſt place, be it knowne that our Oppoſites in their negatives are diſtracted into three Opinions. One ſort, by the word *Angell*, will have underſtood *the whole Church collectively*, as well Laitie, as Clergy. Not ſo, ſay the ſecond Opinatours, but by Angell is *collectively* meant onely *the Order or Colledge of Paſtours or Presbyters*. After theſe the Noveliſts, its neither ſo, nor ſo; but by Angell is meant one individuall Paſtour, *without relation* to any other, newly called an *Independent*, whereas our tenet is, by Angell, to underſtand one individuall Eccleſiaſticall perſon, having a Prelacy above the reſt.

XX. THESIS.

That our Oppoſites firſt Expoſition, which interpreteth the Angell to meane the whole Church and congregation, is notably extravagant.

(a) *Lib. 3. de Epiſc. pag. 183. Sit ergo hoc fixum, per Angelos nihil aliud voluiſſe Johannem deſignari, niſi ipſas Eccleſias.*

ALthough (a) *Walo Meſſalinus*, the grand adverſary to Epiſcopacy, be very peremptory for this expoſition, yet will it altogether appeare groundleſſe. But firſt we are to hearken unto his gloſſe. *Let it be held a firme and fixt truth*, (ſaith he) *that by the name of Angells are not ſignified any, that had Preſidency over others, but the whole congregation and Churches.* So he; Pythagorically upon his owne word, as we ſee: whereunto we may rather anſwer, Let it be held firmely and fixtly, that this gloſſe upon the Text is evidently confuted by the context, which ſtandeth thus, *cap.* 1. & 20. *The Angells* are called *Starres*, and the *Churches Candleſticks*, ſo that he muſt turne Starres into Candleſticks, before that he can make the Angell to ſignifie the whole Congregation. Beſide *cap.* 2. 1. the command to *John* is, *Write to the Angell of the Church of Epheſus*, where if by *Angell* muſt be underſtood the *Church*, then were it as much as to have beene ſayd, *Write unto the Church of the Church of Epheſus*. But we know the ſpirit of wiſdome could not write unwiſely.

XXI. THE-

XXI. THESIS.

That our Oppoſites ſecond Expoſition of the word Angell, to ſignifie onely the Order and Colledge of Presbyters, is erroneous, notwithſtanding the Arguments of our Oppoſites to the contrary.

The Anſwer to their firſt Argument.

THis indeed is the common expoſition of our oppoſites, whereunto our objectours adhere, upon, as they call them *firme Arguments*, as firſt; *Our firſt Argument*, ſay they, *is drawne from the Epiſtle to the Church of* Thyatira, *where after it was ſaid to the Angell* [I have ſomething againſt thee] *in the ſingular number*, cap. 2. 20. *It is after added in the plurall*, verſ. 24. [But I ſay to you, and to the reſt] But what of this? *This ſheweth* (ſay they) *the word Angell to be collective*, to ſignifie a multitude of Paſtours. We anſwer, if ſo, then was *Beza* but dim-ſighted, who paraphras'd upon theſe words thus [unto you] *that is* (ſaith he) *unto the Angell as Preſident, and unto Collegues, as unto the Aſſembly* (meaning of Presbyters) *and to the reſt*, that is, *to the whole flocke*. So he. Where we ſee that the Angell was as individuall, and ſingular, as either, *Thee, or Thy*: And is it poſſible our Oppoſites ſhould be ignorant what an Apoſtrophe is? and that there is no figure of ſpeech more familiar and uſuall among men, then it is? as when a Lord writing to his chiefe Steward of matters belonging to him and other Officers under him, and the whole Family: *Be thou circumſpect in managing my affaires*, and afterward as well unto him, as others, *But ſee that you and the reſt* keepe at home, as much as may be, becauſe of the danger of the Peſtilence which now rageth on all ſides.

Anſwer to the ſecond Argument.

Our ſecond Argument (ſay they) *is drawne from the Phraſes, even in this very booke of Revelations, wherein it is uſuall to expreſſe a company under a ſingular perſon, as the civill State of* Rome

Smect. vindication.

Rome *called a Beaſt with ten heads, which proveth that the Angell might be taken collectively.* Is this all? Maſter *Meade* (ſay they) *one better skill'd in the meaning of the Revelation, then our Adverſary, ſayd, that the word Angell is commonly* [if not alwayes] *in the Revelation taken collectively.* So they. This ſaying have I diligently ſought after, but it fled from me: but yet I ſhall be content to be ſatisfied of Mr *Meade* his meaning from his other ſayings more obvious unto me, to ſhew, that he hath not beene rightly underſtood by theſe objectours. For *Collectively*, properly taken, is a word comprehending a multitude without diſtinction of perſons, as Chriſt in his Lamentation ſayd, *O Hieruſalem, how oft would I have gathered Thy Children, but Thou mouldſt not*] where the words ſingular *Thou, and Thy*, doe here comprehend all the Citizens of *Hieruſalem* without diſtinction. Had Maſter *Meade* this collective ſenſe? He ſheweth the flat contrary, *Apoc.* 9. 14. [foure Angells] *Theſe foure* (ſaith he) *were put for Nations, which they were thought to governe.* So then, they did repreſent Nations, as notwithſtanding to be diſtinctly their foure Governours. Next upon *Revel.* 14. 6. [I ſaw another Angell flying] *We are to call to minde* (ſaith he) *that, which before was* cap. 7. *ſhewed: That the Angells of like Viſions doe repreſent them, of whom they have government whereſoever.* And againe upon verſ. 7. *The flying Angell is ruler, not onely of men, but alſo of a more eminent ranke.* So he. If that our Objectours had (according to Maſter *Meade's* direction) but call'd to minde his owne explanations, they might have eaſily perceived he ſaid no more, then as if we may grant that under the word Angell, to whom the Epiſtle is in ſpeciall directed, are implyed all thoſe who are concern'd therein. But how? not by alteration of his perſon, but by communion of intereſt, for which cauſe Maſter *Beza* acknowledged him the *Preſident* over others, even as many other Proteſtant Divines are ready to doe, and that as exactly as either we can deſire, or our oppoſites miſlike, when we come to diſcharge the affirmative poynt.

Two Antwers we wiſh our Oppoſites to take into their ſecond

cond thoughts; One, as they have preſented him by way of compariſon, as *better skilſ'd* in the Booke of the Revelation then his adverſary: the other, as he is to be ſingly reſpected, and in his owne worthineſſe. To the firſt we ſay, that compariſon might well have beene forborne, which now provoketh us to another compariſon, betweene him and one as deare to our Oppoſites as any other, whom they know to have beene as converſant in the Booke of the Revelation altogether, wherein he, notwithſtanding, after the ſecond and third Chapters, hath beene ſo farre from the collective interpretation of the word Angell, that he hath not any where, as we can find, ſet it downe as comprehendnding any Multitude, nay in many places he expreſſeth by name the individuall perſons themſelves, or ſome *Individuum Vagum* ſignified thereby, ſome ſingular notable one.

The conſideration of Maſter *Meade* his worthineſſe and judgement touching Epiſcopacy, would be had the rather, becauſe we have read the Tranſlation of his Booke authoriz'd in this manner, *It is Ordered by the Committee of the Commons Houſe in Parliament, that the Booke entituled, the Key of the Revelation, be Printed.* So they. Which key doth unlock unto us his judgement in behalfe of Epiſcopacy, to be ſo fully according to the word of God, that part. 1. *c.* 4. *v.* 67. *p.* 35. *The foure and twenty Elders* (ſaith he) *compaſſe next about the throne, which repreſent the Biſhops and Prelates of the Churches, and doe anſwer both in place and order to the Levites and Prieſts in the Camps of Iſrael, &c.* Thus Maſter *Meade*, ſo commended by our Oppoſites themſelves, who if they ſhall approve his Key in this poynt, it is well, we in imparting thus much unto them have but done our duty.

The third Argument.

Our third Argument, ſay they, is taken from the word Angell, as it is a common name to all Miniſters and Meſſengers, and ſurely if Chriſt had intended to point out any individuall perſon, he would have uſed ſome diſtinguiſhing name, as to have called him *Preſident, Rector, Superintendent.* So they. *Smect. vindic. pag.* 143.

As if by this their *ſurely* they would aſſure us it is a Truth, if we ſhall take their owne word for it, contrary to the judgement of all the Learned, who have every where taught that ever ſince Angelicall Spirits were revealed to the world, the word Angell, ſpoken in the better part, hath beene uſed to expreſſe the Dignity of their office, and accordingly of the Miniſters of Gód whenſoever it is applyed unto them: Otherwiſe our Oppoſites, I thinke, would have gratified us with the allegation of ſome one Authour that ever fancied the contrary, whom notwithſtanding we ſhall endeavour to ſatisfie by a parallel in the word *Apoſtles* (ſignifying Meſſengers) whereof M^r. *Calvin*, (a) *This word* (ſaith he) *according to its Etymon agreeth to any Miniſter of Chriſt, yet was it entituled upon the twelve Apoſtles, becauſe they were the immediate Embaſſadours of Chriſt.* So he. And yet we preſume that our Oppoſites would not, becauſe of the Community thereof, call either every Miniſter of Chriſt ſent to preach the Goſpell, an Apoſtle; or every Cobler ſent on a meſſage, an Angell.

(a) *Calvin Inſtitut. l. 3. c. 3. §. 5. De voce hâc Apoſtoli, etſi ex verbi Etymo ritè ſic poſſunt vocari omnes verbi Miniſtri, quoniam à Domino mittuntur nuncii; ſed tamen quia magni refert certam habere de eorum miſſione notitiam, qui rem inauditam afferrent, duodecim illos peculiari hoc titulo ante omnes inſigniri oportuit.*

Their fourth Argument.

Our fourth Argument, ſay they, ſtandeth thus; * Our Saviour ſaith, that the ſeven Candleſticks are the ſeven Churches, but he ſaith not likewiſe that the ſeven Starres are the ſeven Angells, but in mentioning Angells omitteth the word ſeven, which is not done without a Myſtery, to wit, that the Angells doe not ſignifie ſeven Individuall Paſtours. So they. Whoſe Tenents are two; Firſt, that the omiſſion of the word Seven argueth a Myſtery; Secondly, that the Myſtery ſignified thereby is this, *that the word Angell is not individually, but collectively taken.* We cannot but deny both, and ſo will any even with wonderment at the Objectours boldneſſe in uttering ſuch their conceptions: for firſt to call that a Myſtery, which by all Grammar learning is in every Language moſt common, by that which the Grecians call καθ' ὅλου, that is a word not expreſſed following upon courſe in the underſtanding of any rationall Reader. As for example: If any one of our Oppoſites writing to any of his Servants to bring him his two Horſes, the

* *Smect. vind. pag. 146.*

the black Horſe, and the white, omitting in the ſecond place the word Horſe, which word doth follow in courſe of common underſtanding; yet his man ſhould bring onely the blacke, but not the white, might his excuſe have beene, It was a Myſtery?

Secondly, Were it that a Myſtery ſhould be imagined therein, yet that denyall of the word Angel, to be an individuall perſon in the Text, contradicteth the Context. The context ſtandeth thus, *cap.* 1. 26. The Starres are ſaid to be the 7 Angels of the Churches, *&* *cap.* 2. *&* 3. The ſame Angels being reckoned prove accordingly to be ſeven. In the Context we have *Numerum numerantem*, in the Text *numerum numeratum*, that that which maketh up a number, ſhould be ſaid not to referre unto a number, which was before expreſs'd by Chriſt. He that hath a perfect naturall hand, is ſaid to have individually every finger, although he reckon them not to be five.

Their laſt Argument anſwered.

This Argument, (ſay they) *is taken from Chriſts Denunciation againſt the Angel of the Church of Epheſus, to remove his Candleſticke out of its place, if he did not repent: where by* Candleſticke *is meant the Church, or Congregation; But if there by Angel were ſignified one individuall perſon, then the congregation and people ſhould be puniſhed for the offence of that one Paſtour.* So they. Who would not have thus argued, if they had conſidered; that by thus oppugning our Expoſition, they have as utterly undermin'd and overthrowne their own. As for example, their tenent hath beene; that, by the word Angel is ſignified the *Order and Colledge of Paſtours*, in the Church of Epheſus: Now then (to returne their owne engine upon them) if the Candleſticke, ſignifying the Church, ſhould be removed out of its place, except thoſe Paſtours ſhould repent, then ſhould the people and congregation be puniſhed for the fault of thoſe Paſtours. Therefore all the oddes that is betweene both theſe conſequences, is no more than this, *viz.* the puniſhing of people for the fault of the Paſtour: *Smectym. pag.* 148. *Vindicat.*

and for the faults of the Paſtours, in extremity equally, unequally in both; whereas they ſhould have labourd to ſolve the doubt by ſome commodious, and congruous interpretation.

Whether thus, if by Candleſticke be to be underſtood the people: then by people to conceive ſuch of whom the Prophet ſpake *like People like Paſtor*, ſo that the irrepentant people adhering to the unpenitent Paſtor, may juſtly be involv'd in the ſame puniſhment. Secondly, or thus, by taking the word Candleſticke to ſignifie the Paſtor himſelfe, for the Miniſters of the Goſpell are ſo called. *Matt.* 5.15. And that the ſame word ſhould be diverſly taken in the ſame ſentence cannot be ſtrange to him, who is not a ſtranger to Scripture. As where it is ſaid. *He that ſhall ſave his life*, (viz. Mortall) *ſhall looſe his life*; to wit, the *Eternall*: And againe, 2 *Cor.* 5.21. Of Chriſt. *He that knew no ſinne*, (*properly* taken) *was made for us ſinne*, that is a ſacrifice for ſinne, or elſe (not to ſeeke further) by diſtinguiſhing of the word *place*, as here betokening mans eſtate and condition with relation to others, in which ſenſe might the Church of Epheſus be remov'd by altering the relation to that one Paſtor, both by not acknowledging him their Biſhop, and by withholding maintenance.

XXII. THESIS.

That our Oppoſites third Expoſition of the word Angel, to ſignifie one onely Paſtor in the Church of Epheſus, is extremely new and naught.

THis misbegotten brat, namely an expoſition, which before theſe dayes of diſtraction never ſaw print, we might thinke ſhould by and by vaniſh with its owne novelty: how much more for the ſafety thereof, which we are rather to enquire after, ſeeming to us to be very tranſparent. For the reaſons, which theſe our Oppoſites might have read in (a) Maſter *Brightman*, viz. *The City of* Epheſus *was more innobled of all other, by* Pauls *Triennial la-*

(a) *Brightman in Apoc. p. 11. Epheſus evaſit nobilior propter Pauli operam triennalem in eâ Act. 19.10. & 20.31. Divinam ad populum Scriptam Epiſt. datum iis Timotheum paſtorem ac fæliciſſimam Johannis Apoſt. per tot annos irrigationem.*

bour

bour therein: Next, by the divine Epiſtle written unto the people there, as alſo by that Timothy *was ordein'd their Paſtor, and beſides, for* John's *laborious watring thereof for ſo many yeres together.* So he. But how ſucceſſefull were theſe then? this was told us in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, concerning the Church of Epheſus; whereof it is ſaid, ſo *mightily grew the word of God, and prevail'd. Act.* 19. 20. Now that after *Pauls* long reſidence, after *Timothies* Paſtorſhip, and after Saint *Johns* watering of that Church, and ſo long a time; and that with ſo admirable ſucceſſe, and yet here but one onely Paſtor among them. Is this credible? What ſaith the Scripture? *The Harveſt indeed is great, but the labourers are few.* But here in the *mightily* great Harveſt, the labourers are fewer then few. We ought not to be blamed for medling with ſuch trifles in earneſt, but that our ſtudy hath beene to weed out even the leaſt ſcruples, now that we are to expedite a matter of higheſt importance, which is our proofe of Epiſcopacy from the word of God: and to that purpoſe from confutation of the negative part held by our Oppoſites, we paſſe to the proofes and confirmations of our affirmative.

XXIII. THESIS.

That by the word Angel of Epheſus, to ſignifie a ſingular and individuall Paſtor having a Prelacy over Presbyters, is proved by a large conſent of Proteſtant Divines without exception judicious and ingenuous.

THe Divines, which we ſhall produce ſhall be thoſe, whom our Oppoſites themſelves cannot call Partialiſts in behalfe of Biſhops, whether they be of remote Churches, or as it were domeſtiques in our owne Country. Of the firſt kinde, we alleadge the laſt chiefe Paſtor of the Church of *Geneva* (*a*) Maſter *Deodate*, who is to be cited out of his Booke lately authoriz'd to be publiſh'd, by Order of the Houſe of *Commons* this Parliament. The Text in the Revelations is, *Write to the Angel of the Church of Epheſus*: His

(*a*) Maſter *Deodate* his notes upon the Apoc. 2. 1.

paraphraſe thus. That is, ſaith he, to the Paſtor or Biſhop; under whoſe perſon ought to be underſtood the whole Church. The Church to be implyed or underſtood, and the Paſtor or Biſhop, under whoſe perſon, which, becauſe perſon, can be but one, according to the *Etymon* of the word Angel, *Perſona quaſi per ſe una*: Or as it is defin'd in Philoſophy, *A perſon is an individuall intellectuall Nature*, yet ſo in this place as he being to acquaint all with the contents of this Epiſtle, all were underſtood to be concern'd in him, as all the other following witneſſes will acknowledge. Before him in the ſame Church of *Geneva* was *Theodore*, (*b*) *Beza*, *By Angel* (ſaith he) *is meant the Preſident*, who was admoniſh'd *and his Collegues with him*. So he.

(*c*) *Bullinger*, although he, as others affirme, that the Epiſtle concerneth as well People as Paſtors, yet doth he conſent unto us, that, *the Epiſtle was inſcribed to one, by whom the Paſtor and people might be enformed*: As punctually and pertinently (*d*) *Marlorat*, ſome things (ſaith he) were to be *corrected as well in the people, as in the Clergy*; *yet doth not* John *addreſſe himſelfe unto the people, nor yet to the Clergy, but to the chiefe of them, which is the Biſhop, and that not without good reaſon*. So he. Of our chiefe (*e*) *Gualther* held the ſame opinion with further evidence of theſe other words. [Unto the Angell of the Church of *Smyrna* write] that is, ſaith he, *To the Biſhop thereof, as Hiſtories do manifeſt*. (*f*) *Gaſpar Sibilius* having compared the divers expoſitions confeſs'd, ſaying, *This, as ſpoken but of one Angel, pleaſeth me better*. (*g*) Piſcator briefly and conſonantly *to the Angel*, that is, *to the Biſhop, and to the Church*: namely Biſhop expreſſely, and Church conſequently, becauſe of matters of concernment to them alſo. (*h*) *Pareus* doubteth not to make his explanation as generally to be obſerv'd in theſe Epiſtles. *It is the word of Chriſt*

(*b*) *Beza in Apoc. 2. 1. Angelus προεσὼς, quem oportet admoneri & per eum Collegas, totamque adeo Eccleſiam.*

(*c*) *Bullinger in Apoc. cap. 2. concio ſeptima. Nemo autem exiſtimet hanc Epiſtolam uni inſcriptam Angelo, i. e. Epiſcopo vel paſtori, nihil ad Eccleſiam pertinere. Nam ſub finem Epiſtolæ Epiphonema adjicitur. Qui habet aurem audiat quid Scriptura dicat Eccleſiis. Nominatur ergo paſtor, ſed non excluduntur oviculæ; Interim verò Angelo inſcribitur, ut admonentur paſtores, in ipſis eſſe permultum ſitum qualis ſit Eccleſ*

(*d*) *Marlorat. in Apoc. 1. 12. Quamvis quædam tam in Clero, quam in Populo corrigenda eſſent, non tamen populum, ſed Clerum aggreditur: nec quemlibet de Clero, nominatim Principem Cleri, utique Epiſcopum.* (*e*) *Gualther. Hom. 9. in Apoc. 8. Angelo, id eſt, Epiſcopo Smyrnenſi, atque adeo toti Eccleſiæ; conſtat ex Hiſtoriis Polycarpum fuiſſe hunc Angelum.* (*f*) *Gaſpar Sib. in Apoc. p. 185. de uno ſingulari Angelo, quæ ſententia mihi magis arridet.* (*g*) *Piſcator in eandem Apoc* [*Angelo*] *id eſt, Epiſcopo, nec non ipſi Eccleſiæ.* (*h*) *Pareus* [Angelo Epheſinæ Eccleſiæ] *ſic vocat paſtorem ejus, eadem appellatione Chriſtus aliarum Eccleſiarum Epiſcopos dignatur.*

(ſaith

(ſaith he) *that that, which is meant to the Church, ſhould be inſcribed to the Biſhop of the place, or Church.* (i) Aretius is of no leſſe eſteeme then the former, and as punctuall altogether, by Angell interpreting *a ſpeciall one Miniſter, and Diſciple of* John; *by whom the writing might be commended to the whole Church.* (k) *Peter* Martyr uſed to be reckoned among the firſt Worthies. *John* (ſaith he) *was commanded to write to the Angels, who were the Biſhops of the Churches.* But what do we multiply remote Authors, when one of their Doctors may ſatisfy us both for the generall, and for himſelfe? (l) *All the moſt learned Interpreters,* (ſaith Dr. Sculteius) *by Angels expound the Biſhops of the Churches, nor can it be otherwiſe interpreted without violence to the Text.* So he. After our ſo long peregrination in remote Churches, it is time to haſt home, to try what our owne Engliſh Divines have judged of this matter; and leſt now we be too numerous, we ſhall ſingle out three, who will be held ſingular in the eſtimation of our Oppoſites themſelves. (m) Dr. Reynolds. *Although in the Church of Epheſus,* ſaith he, *there were ſundry Elders and Paſtors to guide it, yet, among theſe ſundry, was there one Chiefe, whom our Saviour calleth the Angel of the Church.* Apoc. 2. So he. His words need no Paraphraſe. (n) Dr. *Fulke* is one of them whom our Oppoſites have cited for their part, who, if he ſpeake directly againſt them, they may not be offended with us. *The Epiſtle to Pergamus,* ſaith he, *was directed to the Biſhop thereof.* We have reſerved Maſter *Cartwright* to the laſt, that his Teſtimony may be more laſting in the memory of our Oppoſites, as from one who uſeth to be moſt gratefull unto them. *The letters written to the Churches,* ſaith he, *were therefore directed to the Angel, becauſe he is the meeteſt man by office, by whom the Church may underſtand the tenor of the letter.* So he, and ſo they. Although this Cloud of witneſſes thus raining downe aboundance of Teſtimonies, for proofe of an Apoſtolicall originall of Epiſcopacy, may juſtly be held ſo convincent, that nothing but ſelfeneſſe in any party can oppoſe any thing againſt it, yet ſhall we furthermore fortify their proofes, deſiring that this one thing may be obſerv'd, (to wit) the reaſon

(i) *Aretius* [*Angelo*] *id eſt, Miniſtro Eccleſiæ, per quem ad totum cœtum res proferantur.*

(k) *P. Martyr cõment. in primam Corinth. 11. Johannes jubetur ſcribere ad Angelos Eccleſiarum, qui erant illarum Epiſcopi.*

(l) *Sculteius obſervat. in Tit. Doctiſſimi quique interpretes per ſeptem Eccleſiarum Angelos interpretantur ſeptem Eccleſiarum Epiſcopos, neque enim aliter poſſunt, vim niſi facere textui velint.*

(m) *Dr. Reynolds* in his Conference with Hart. c. 2. *diviſio.* 3.

(n) *Dr. Fulke in Apoc 2 Ad Pergamenſis Eccleſiæ Epiſcopum Epiſtola hæc deſtinatur.*

(o) *Mr. Cartwright* on the Rhemes Teſtament upon *Apoc.* 2.

tion why all our Oppoſites have ſtrugled againſt this our Expoſition, as a break-neck to their whole cauſe; but wee'll go on.

XXIV. THESIS.

That Antiquity held not the word Angell (whereof we treat) to be taken Collectively for a multitude of Paſtours.

IF that our Oppoſites had not ſaid that we cited no ancient Fathers for our expoſition, we ſhould not have framed this Theſis; onely we cannot tell with what appetite they did it: Is it that they hold the judgement of Fathers ſatisfactory in this caſe? why then have they not alledged any one ſyllable out of them for their owne collective ſenſe? But we liſt not to expoſtulate, rather hoping the beſt, we intreat them to ſpell the words of (*a*) *Ambroſe*, they are but few, *I call Biſhops Angells, as I am taught in the Revelation.* What *Ambroſe* meant by Biſhops who can doubt? Likewiſe (*b*) *Auguſtine* the famous Biſhop of *Hippo*, ſaith, of one of theſe Angells, *That he was ſet over the Church by the divine voice* (meaning the Scripture.) If * *Sculteius* when he ſaid, that all the moſt learned Interpreters, by Angells, underſtood Biſhops; if among All, he comprehend the Ancients, we have not to ſeeke more witneſſes; however, we need not, becauſe there is but very rare commenting upon the Apocalyps among the Fathers, much leſſe upon theſe Texts. All this notwithſtanding we are ſure of that what is wanting in their Commentaries, they ſupply in their hiſtoricall relations, as will appeare by and by, rendring unto us one *Polycarpus* Biſhop and Martyr to have beene one of theſe Angells in the Church of *Smyrna*. In the interim we will plead Reaſon with our Oppoſites.

(a) *Ambroſ. in 1 Corint. 1. Angelos Epiſcopos dico, ſicut docet in Apocalypſi Johannes.*

(b) *Auguſt. Epiſt. 192. Divinâ voce laudatur Angeli nomine Præpoſitus Eccleſiæ.*

* See above.

XXV. THESIS.

That the word Angell in other places of the Revelation is commonly if not alwaies Individually taken.

BEtter reaſon they cannot expect then is the retorting of their owne Argument upon them: when they diſlike this,

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The word Angell is commonly, if not alwayes taken Collectively, ergo, *ought it to be ſo interpreted in the ſecond and third Chapters.* So they; but altogether amiſſe, as hath beene ſhewen. It will be our part to prove the contradictory, whereof upon obſervation in reading Commentaries upon the Revelation, we are the more confident; our Oppoſites at their leiſure may inquire to other Authors; We for this preſent ſhall need but commend a ſpeciall one unto them who in their opinion may ſtand for many, becauſe onely now at hand. He after theſe two Chapters (as the Marginalls ſhew) (a) *through his whole Commentaries upon the ſame Booke, taketh the word Angell ſo farre Individually, as to interpret it of ſome one perſon, either expreſly by name, or elſe equivalently by an* Individuum vagum, *as thus, ſome notable one, or the like.*

In the ſecond place, we doe appeale to the Texts themſelves to give a ſufficient taſt; for oftentimes the Angells are reckoned ſeven, and after diſtributed ordinatively into firſt, ſecond third, and ſo till the ſeventh, as plainly as one can reekon the ſeven dayes in the Weeke, Chap. 15. & 16. Afterwards we have recited one Angell having the Key of the bottomleſſe pit, Chap. 20. was there need of a Collectively underſtood multitude of Angells to keepe one Key? The like may be ſaid of a mighty Angell for delivering a little booke, Chap. 10. 1, 2. Beſides the Angell whom *John* is ſaid to have worſhipped, Chap. 22. will they ſay this Angell alſo to comprehend a Multitude? then might the Angell reply, have you forgot when I ſaid to *John, I am thy fellow Servant*, but five words, and every one an Individuall.

Thirdly, to returne to the queſtioned Texts, whereas ſome of the Angells are commended for notable vertues, and as much condemned for ſome notorious vices; they that thinke that all the ſame vices and vertues did as well imply every Paſtour in all the Colledges of the ſeven Churches may as well conceive, that where the deformities are noted in any Cor-

(a) *Brightmannus in cap. 7. 2. id eſt. Conſtantius. cap 8. 17. Angelus volans, i.e. Greg. Magnus, c. 10. Angelus robuſtus, id eſt Cheſius, cap. 14.* There is ſeven times *alius Angelus*, and of the firſt three he ſaith, *Erant hi tres totidem cœleſtes viri, &c. v. 15. Alius, ut probabile eſt Miniſter*, and yet after doubleth fondly, *v. 17. Angelus alius eſt, Tho. Cromwellus, v. 18. Alius Tho. Carmerus, cap. 16. Sunt 7. Angeli, v. 2. Angelus primus Elizabeth Regin. v. 3. Secundus, id eſt, Mart. Chemnitius v. 5. Angelus Aquarum, Civis aliquis Magiſtratus, v. 7. Alius Angelus. Unus aliquis. Videat reliqua Lector, cap. 16. verſ. 2, 3, 5, 7, 12, 17. cap. 18. verſ. 21. cap. 19. verſ. 17.*

poration, therefore every perſon in it is equally flat-noſed, crook't-legged, bald-headed, and the like.

Laſtly, the Angells and Churches being both reckoned diſtinctly ſeven times, that there ſhould be a Collective number of the Order of Paſtours, without ſo much as any inſinuation of diſtinguiſhing them either from Angells, or Churches; have they any Key to unlock ſuch a Myſtery? From this kind of reaſoning, we paſſe unto an evidence of no leſſe importance, *Hiſtoricall Experience*, and *Practice*.

XXVI. THESIS.

That by Angell is meant Individually one Biſhop, is demonſtrated by Hiſtoricall learning without contradiction.

HIſtory is the life of memory, and memoriall of mens lives, if it may be undubitably had, it muſt neceſſarily ſeale up the verity of all that hath beene ſaid of an Apoſtolicall Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy, whereof we have had evident inſtances in the Epiſcopall Traditions from *James* in *Jeruſalem*, *Marke* in *Alexandria*, *Peter* in *Antioch* and in *Rome*: And now we are to inſiſt upon examples of the deſcent from *John* in two of theſe Angelicall Churches *Epheſus* and *Smyrna*. For the firſt, it hath beene made good unto you out of *Euſebius*, that (a) *Polycrates* writ himſelfe *Biſhop of* Epheſus, *teſtifying withall a line of ſeven Biſhops of his owne kindred, his Predeceſſours*: whereunto may be added the Declaration made by *Leontius* the Archbiſhop of *Magneſia* in the generall (b) Councell of *Calcedon* of the ſucceſſion of the ſeven and twenty Biſhops from *Timothy* in the ſame Church of *Epheſus*; which *Timothy*, all antiquity with a large conſent of moſt approved Proteſtant Divines have teſtified to have beene Biſhop there: none will thinke, but ſhame it ſelfe would have reſtrained *Leontius* from making ſuch a publique Declaration in the hearing of ſix hundred Fathers aſſembled in this Councell, if the matter it ſelfe had beene liable to any contradiction. The next inſtance (as we are perſwaded) may be held ſatisfactory and

(a) *Polycrat. Epiſt. ad Victorem apud Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 25.*

(b) *Concil. Calced. Act. 11.*

and infringeable in it ſelfe, in *Polycarpus* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, in the dayes when Saint *John* lived: our witneſſes deſerve your hearing, we will begin with the verieſt junior of all, ſaying, (e) *Polycarpus who had beene Diſciple to one that heard the Lord, and afterward burnt a Martyr of Chriſt, was ordained Biſhop of* Smyrna *by Saint John.* (c) So *Hierome*. *Another,* Polycarpus *Biſhop and Martyr was placed by* John *Biſhop of Smyrna.* So (d) *Euſebius* A third before him. *By* John *was* Polycarpus *conſtituted Biſhop of Smyrna.* So (e) *Tertullian*. And before him a fourth teſtifieth as one that had ſeene this *Polycarpus, That after that he had beene inſtructed by the Apoſtles of Chriſt, with whom he had beene converſant, he was made by them Biſhop of Smyrna.* So (f) *Ireneus*. We aſcend ſomewhat higher, to one who writ an Epiſtle to the ſame *Polycarpus*, intiutling him the Biſhop of *Smyrna*; and in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Smyrna*, ſaluting him as their Biſhop. (g) *Ignatius* in theſe Epiſtles and ſayings which *Vedelius* the Profeſſour in the Church of *Geneva*, and an exact diſcerner and diſcoverer of the corruptions crept into his writings, doth hold as genuine and legitimate. Can our Oppoſites require a greater confirmation of any hiſtoricall poynt, which they themſelves maintaine, as more amply teſtified then this is? whereto as many of our former Proteſtant Divines did ſubſcribe, ſo is there not one to our knowledge from this Saint *John* that ever did contradict it.

(c) *Hieronym. de Scrip. Eccleſ. Polycarpus Johannis diſcipulus & ab eo Smyrnæ Epiſcopus ordinatus, totius Aſiæ princeps fuit, qui nonnullos Apoſtolorum qui Dominum viderant Magiſtros habuerit & viderit. Poſtea verò regnante Marco Antonio quartâ poſt Neronem perſecutione Smyrnæ ſedente proconſule & univerſo populo in Amphithet. adverſus eum perſonaliter igni traditus eſt.*

(d) *Euſeb. Alius Polycarpus. Epiſc. & Martyr ſuffragiis Smyrnenſ. Epiſcopatum obtinuit.*

(e) *Tertull. præſcript. cap. 23. à Johanne Smyrnæ conſtitutis. Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 3. c. 30. Epiſcopus Smyrnæ ab iis qui erant ἀυτόπται τ λογε.*

(f) *Iren. lib. 3. cap. 3. vide & apud Euſeb lib. 3. c. 55. Πολυκάρπον & ὃς οὐ μόνον, &c. Polycarpus non ſolum edoctus à Chriſti diſcipulis & converſatus apud multos qui Chriſtum ipſum viderunt, verùm etiam ab Apoſtolis conſtitutus Epiſcopus Eccleſiæ in Aſia, quæ dicitur Smyrna, quem in teneris noſtræ ætate nos ipſi vidimus; diù enim vixit & valdè ſenex, per nobile & gloriſum Martyrium vitâ deceſſit.*

(g) *Ignatius Epiſt. Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων; & Epiſt. ad Smyrnenſes, ἀσπάζομαι ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπον Πολυκάρπον, Vedelius, Exercit. in iſtas Epiſtolas.*

XXVII. THESIS.

That Christ himselfe shewed his approbation of the Prelacy which the foresaid Angells had in their severall Churches.

THere was yet never either favourites to Episcopacy, nor opposites against it, but have granted, that whatsoever the government was meant in these seven Churches, it had the approbation of Christ, by the tenour of his Epistles written unto them. First from the words of the Chap. 1. 1. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ sent by his Angell to his Servant John*] to acknowledge the Epistles to have beene dictated by Christ himselfe, conveied by an Angell to *John*, and as it followeth in the second and third Chapters, distributed by *John* to the severall Angells, and communicated to the Churches. After this, by the vertue of the same letters, an inquisition is made, (as it were a Visitation kept) upon every Angell of the Churches, concerning the discharge of their offices; wherein two of them are found of weight and commendable, the other five, more or lesse criminally delinquents, yet so; as to manifest a justification of the offices. The approbation of the function is seene, not onely (which reason none can deny) by Christ his commending their *diligence, zeale, and faithfulnesse*; but even likewise in his processe of *convictions, reprehensions, and denuntiations* against their *remissenesse, dissolutenesse, and faithfulnesse* of others; but how? certainly, so that the condemnation of their vices and abuses argued an approbation of their Offices and Functions because it was done not with an absolute intent to remove them at the first, but onely to reforme them, and continue them upon their Reformation; therefore was it said from Christ to one, *Repent, or else*, &c. Chap. 2. 5. & 16. to another, *Repent, if not, I will come against thee*, and the like; this we see was no deprivation of the Officers at first, much lesse abolition of the Offices which were to continue from age to age.

The last poynt will be our Assumption from all these premisses,

miſſes, which is, that theſe Angells, being ſo amply, evidently, and with ſo unanimous conſent of the moſt and beſt approved Proteſtant Divines, agreeable to Hiſtoricall practiſe of Apoſtolicall Churches, proved to have beene ſuch Biſhops as had a Prelacy over the Clergy with Chriſts owne approbation, a truth, which the evidence of theſe Scriptures did expreſſe in part from (a) *Beza* himſelfe; his ſentence is large, conſiſting of theſe brieſes; Firſt, *that the Epiſcopacy which ſeemed to him to be regulate, was to be collected out of this Scripture of the Apocalyps.* Secondly, *that the ſame was a Preſidency, and Prefecture-ſhip of one Presbyter over the reſt.* Thirdly, *that it was a Prelacy of Authority.* Fourthly, *that* Hierome *was of judgement.* Fifthly, *that to hold otherwiſe, were to doate and play the foole*: all which prove the difference of Biſhop and Presbyter both to have beene of Apoſtolicall Inſtitution, becauſe under *John* in the Church of *Aſia*; and to have had the approbation of Chriſt, becauſe of Chriſt his commendation of the faithfull diſcharge of this Function, which fully makes good unto us, both our Concluſions, *That Epiſcopacy for the Office and Function it ſelfe is according to the word of God, and in reſpect of uſe, therefore the Beſt.*

(a) *Beza de Miniſt. grad. cap. 13. Quid objicis in ætatem Johannis Apoſt. Aſiæ Eccleſiæ ſeptem habuerunt Epiſcopos, divinâ non humanâ ordinatione ſibi præfectos, Apoſtolo ſingulos illos ſingularum Eccleſiarum Angelos minimè compellaturo, & culpam malè obitæ functionis minimè illis attributuro, niſi eminentior fuiſſet eorum in Eccleſia regimine auctoritas. Hoc, inquam, quorſum adverſus Hieronymum & nos torques? nec enim ille, quum diceret Eccleſias initio fuiſſe communi Presbyterorum conſilio gubernatas, ita deſipuiſſe exiſtimandus eſt, ut ſomniret neminem ex Presbyteris illi cœtui præfuiſſe, &c.*

FINIS.

The *Originall* of BISHOPS and METROPOLITANS, briefly layd downe by *JAMES*, *Arch-Bishop* of ARMAGH.

THe ground of *Episcopacy* is derived partly from the patterne prescribed by God in the *Old Testament*: and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the *Apostles* and confirmed by *Christ* himselfe in the time of the *New*. The government of the Church of the *Old-Testament* was committed to the *Priests* and *Levits*: unto whom the Ministers of the *New* doe now succeed; in like sort as *our* Lords-day hath done unto *their* Sabbath. that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, touching the vocation of the Gentiles. *I will take of them for Priests, and for Levits, saith the Lord.* a Esa. 66. 21.

That the *Priests* were superiour to the *Levits*, no man doubteth: and that there was not a parity, either betwixt the *Priests* or betwixt the *Levits* themselves, is manifest by the word of God; wherein mention is made of the *Heads* and *Rulers* both of the one, and of the other. 1 *Chron.* XXIV. 6, 31. and *Ezr.* VIII. 29.

The *Levits* were distributed into the three families of the *Gershonites*, *Cohathites*, and *Merarites*: and over each of them God

God appointed one נָשִׂיא ἄρχων or *Ruler*, *Num.* III. 24,30,35. The *Priests* were divided by *David* into foure and twenty courses; 1 *Chron* XXIV. who likewise had their *Heads*: who in the History of the *New-Testament* are ordinarily called [b] ἀρχιερεῖς, or *chiefe of the Priests*; and clearely distinguished from that singular one, who was the type of our [c] *great High Priest, that is passed into the Heavens, Jesus the Son of God.* Yea in the XI. of *Nehemy*, we finde two named *Bishops*, the one of the *Priests*, the other of the *Levits* that dwelt in *Jerusalem*. The former so expressely tearmed by the Greeke in the 14. the latter both by the Greeke and Latin Interpreter in the [*] 22. vers. and not without approbation of the Scripture it selfe, which rendreth the [d] Hebrew word of the same originall in the *Old*, by the [e] Greeke ἐπισκοπὴ in the *New-Testament*.

Of *Levi* it was said by *Moses* the man of God [f] *They shall teach* Jacob *thy judgements, and* Israel *thy law; they shall put incense before thee, and whole burne sacrifice upon thine Altar.* Because this latter part of their office hath ceased with them, and the Leviticall Altar (the truth prefigured thereby being now exhibited) is quite taken away: may not we therefore conclude out of the former part (which hath no such typicall relation in it) that our *Bishops* and *Presbyters* should be (as the Apostle would have them to be) [g] διδακτικοὶ *apt to teach*; [h] *able by sound doctrine both to exhort, and to convince the gain-sayers?* Nay, and out of the latter part it selfe; where God had appointed, that [i] *the Priests the Levits and all the Tribe of* Levi *should eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire:* doth not the Apostle by just analogy inferre from thence, that forasmuch as [k] *they which waited at the Altar, were partaker with the Altar; even so had the Lord ordained, that they which preached the Gospell, should live of the Gospell?*

With what shew of reason then can any man imagine, that what was instituted by *God* in the *Law*, for meere matter of government and preservation of good order (without all respect of type or ceremony;) should now be rejected in the *Gospell*, as a device of *Antichrist?* that what was by the Lord once

b Matth. 2. 4. and 27. 1. Act. 19. 14. &c.
c Heb. 4. 14.
* Ἐπισκοπὴ Λευιτῶν. LXX. *Episcopus Leviterum.* Hieron.
d פקדה Psal. 109. 8.
e Act. 1. 20.
f Deut. 33. 10.
g 1 Tim. 3. 2.
h Tit. 1. 9.
i Deut. 28. 1.
k 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14.

once [l] *planted a noble vine, wholly a right ſeed,* ſhould now be ſo *turned into the degenerate plant of a ſtrange vine*; that no purging or pruning of it will ſerve the turne, but it muſt be cut downe root and branch, as [m] *a plant which our heavenly Father had never planted?* But nothing being ſo familiar now a dayes, as to father upon *Antichriſt*, whatſoever in Church matters we doe not find to ſuite with our owne humours: the ſafeſt way will be, to conſult with *Chriſt* himſelfe herein, and heare what he delivereth in the cauſe.

Theſe things ſaith he, that hath the ſeven ſtarres. Revel. III. 1. He *owneth* then, we ſee, theſe *ſtarres*; whatſoever they be. and, the *myſtery* of them he thus further openeth unto his beloved Diſciple. *The ſeven ſtarres, which thou ſaweſt in my right hand, are the Angels of the ſeven Churches.* Revel. I. 20. From which words a learned man, very much devoted to the now ſo highly admired Diſcipline, deduceth this concluſion. [n] *How great therefore is the dignity of true Paſtours, who are both* STARRES, *fixed in no other firmament then in the right hand of Chriſt, and* ANGELS?

He had conſidered well, that in the Church of *Epheſus* (one of the *ſeven* here pointed at) there were many [o] PRESBYTERS, whom *the holy Ghoſt had made* BISHOPS, or *Overſeers, over all that flock; to feed the Church of God, which he had purchaſed with his owne blond.* And withall he ſaw, that by admitting one *Angell* there above the reſt (all, as well [p] extraordinary *Prophets*, as [q] ordinary *Paſtours*, being in their owne ſeverall ſtations accounted *Angels* or *Meſſingers* of the Lord of Hoſts) he ſhould be forced alſo to acknowledge the eminency of one *Biſhop* above the other *Biſhops* (that name being in thoſe dayes [r] common unto all the *Presbyters*) and to yield withall, that ſuch a one was to be eſteemed as *a ſtarre fixed in no other firmament, then in the right hand of Chriſt.*

To ſalve this therefore; all the *ſtarres* in every Church muſt be preſuppoſed to be of one magnitude, and though thoſe *ſtarres* which typified theſe *Angels* are ſaid to be but *ſeven*, yet the *Angels* themſelves muſt be maintained to be farre more

l Jerem. 2. 21.

m Matth. 15. 13.

n *Quanta igitur dignitas verorum Paſtorum, qui tum ſtellæ ſunt, non in alio firmamento, quàm in dextrâ Chriſti fixæ, tum Angeli?* T. Brightman. in Apocalyp. 1. 20.

o Act. 20. 17, 28.

p Judg. 2. 1. Hagg. 1. 13. Matth. 11. 18.

q Malach. 2. 7.

r Philip. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 1. 2. Tit. 1. 5, 7.

more in number: and in fine, where our Saviour ſaith, *unto the Angell of the Church of Epheſus write*; it muſt by no meanes be admitted, that [t] any *one Angell* ſhould be meant hereby, but the *whole Colledge of Paſtours* rather. And all upon pretence of a poore ſhew of ſome ſhallow reaſons; that there *was not one Angell of Epheſus but many, and among them not any Principall.*

Which wreſting of the plaine words of our Saviour is ſo extreame violent; that M. *Beza* (though every way as zealouſly affected to the advancement of the new Diſcipline, as was the other) could by no meanes digeſt it: but ingenuouſly acknowledgeth the meaning of our Lords direction to have been this. [u] *To the Angell, that is, to the Preſident. as whom it behooved ſpecially to be admoniſhed touching thoſe matters; and by him both the reſt of his colleagues, and the whole Church likewiſe.* And that there was then a ſtanding *Preſident* over the reſt of the Paſtors of *Epheſus*, and he the very ſame (as learned [x] Doctor *Rainolds* addeth) with him whom afterward the Fathers called *Biſhop*: may further be made manifeſt, not only by the ſucceſſion of the firſt Biſhops of that Church, but alſo by the cleare teſtimony of *Ignatius*; who (within no greater compaſſe of time then *twelve* yeares afterwards) diſtinguiſheth the ſingular and conſtant *Preſident* thereof, from the reſt of the number of the *Presbyters*, by appropriating the name of *Biſhop* unto him.

As for the former: we find it openly declared in the generall Counceil of *Chalcedon*, by *Leontius* Biſhop of *Magneſia*; that [y] from *Timothie* (and ſo from the dayes of the Apoſtles) there had been a continued ſucceſſion of *ſeven and twenty Biſhops*; all of them ordained in *Epheſus*. Of which number the *Angell* of the Church of *Epheſus*, mentioned in the Revelation, muſt needs be one: whether it were *Timothie* himſelfe, as [z] ſome conceive; or one of his next Succeſſours, as others rather doe imagine.

f Revel. 2. 1.

t Nec uni alicui *Angelo* mittuntur, ſed toti (ut ita dicam) *Collegio paſtorum*; qui omnes hâc communi voce comprehenduntur. Non enim unus erat *Angelus Epheſi*, ſed plures: nec inter iſtos aliquis Princeps. Brightman. in Apocalyp. 2. 1.

u Τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, id eſt, προεδρῳ. Quem nimirùm oportuit inprimis de his rebus admoneri, ac per eam cæteros Collegas, totamque adeò Eccleſiam. Beza. in Apocalyp. 2: 1.

x Conference with *Hart*, c. 8. diviſ. 3.

y Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν εἶχον ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπους ἐγένοντο, πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐχειροτονήθησαν Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 11.

z *Vid.* Perer. in Apocalyp. cap. 2. diſp. 2. Alcaſar. Proœm. in cap. 2. & 3. Apocal. notat. 1. & Petr. Halloix. Notat. in vit. Polycarp. cap. 7.

For

For that *Timothie* had been ſometime [a] the πρεσβύτερος (which is the appellation that [b] *Juſtin Martyr*, in his ſecond Apology for Chriſtians, & [c] *Dionyſius* of *Corinth* not long after him, in his epiſtle to the Church of *Athens*, and [d] *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* in his letters to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, doe give unto a *Biſhop*) or *Antiſtes*, or *Preſident* of the *Epheſine Preſbyterie*, is confeſſed by *Beza* himſelfe: and that he was ordained *the firſt Biſhop* of the Church of the *Epheſians*, we doe not onely reade in the ſubſcription of the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, and the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie of [e] *Euſebius*, but alſo in two ancient Treatiſes concerning the Martyrdome of *Timothy*; the one nameleſſe in the Library of [f] *Photius*, the other bearing the name of [g] *Polycrates*, even of that *Polycratus*, who was not onely himſelfe Biſhop of this Church of *Epheſus*, but borne alſo within ſix or ſeven and thirty yeares after S. *John* wrote the fore-named Epiſtle unto the *Angel* of that Church: as it appeareth by the yeares he was of, when he wrote that Epiſtle unto *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, wherein he maketh mention of [h] *ſeven kinſmen of his who had beene Biſhops*; he himſelfe being *the eight*.

I come now to the teſtimony of *Ignatius*: whom [i] *Theodoret*, and [k] *Felix* Biſhop of *Rome*, and [l] *John* the Chronographer of *Antioch*, report to have beene ordained Biſhop of *Antioch* by S. *Peter* in ſpeciall, *Chryſoſtome* (who was a Presbyter of the ſame Church) by [m] the *Apoſtles* in generall; and without all controverſie did ſit in that See, the very ſame time wherein that Epiſtle unto *the Angel of the Church of Epheſus* was commanded to be written.

a *Notandum eſt ex hoc loco, Timotheum in Epheſino presbyterio tum fuiſſe* πρεσβυτὴν (i. e. *antiſtitem*) *ut vocat Juſtinus.* Bez. *Annotat. in* 1. *Tim.* 5. 19.

b *Qui politia cauſa reliquis fratribus in cœtu præerat* (*quem Juſtinus* τὸν πρεσβύτερον *vocat*) *peculiariter dici Epiſcopus cœpit. Id. in* Philip. 1. 1.

c *Dionyſ. Corinth. in epiſt. ad* Athenienſes, *eodem ſenſu* Publium *martyrem nominat* πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν, *quo proximum ejus ſucceſſorem* Quadratum ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν, *apud Euſebium lib.* 4. *hiſtor. cap.* 23.

d Δεινὰ κατὰ τὴν Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς προεστώτων αὐτῶν τετολμήκασι. *Marcell. Ancyran. apud Epiphanium, hæreſ* 72.

e Euſeb. *Hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

f Ὅτι πρῶτον Τιμόθεον ἡ παροῦσα συγγραφὴ φησὶν Ἐφέσου ἐπισκοπῆσαι. *& poſt.* Ὅτι ὁ ἁγιώτατος Τιμόθεος κατὰ τὸ μαλλον Παῦλῳ καὶ χειροτονεῖται τὴν Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ εὐαγγελίζεται. Phot. *Bibliot. num.* 254.

g Polycrat. *de Martyrio* Timothei: *inter Vitas Sanctorum edit.* Lovanii *anno* 1485.

h Ἐκεῖ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος. Polycrat. *Epiſt. ad Victorem: apud* Euſeb. *l.* 5. *Hiſt. cap.* 24.

i Theodoret. *in Dialogo* 1. *ſive* Ἀπαθὴς.

k Felix III. *in Epiſt. ad* Zenonem *Imp. recitat in* V *Synodo Conſtantinopol. Act.* 1. (*tomo* 2. *Concilior. pag.* 220. *edit.* Binnii. *anno.* 1606.)

l Johan. Malela *Antiochenus, Chronic. lib.* 10 M. S.

m Παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκείνου τῷ ἀρχῇ ταύτῃ ἐπεχειρίσθη, καὶ αἱ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης ἠξιώσαντο κεφαλῆς. *Jo. Chryſoſt. in* Ignatii Encomio.

In the Ile of *Patmos* had S. *John* his Revelation manifeſted unto him, [n] *toward the end of the Empire of Domitian*, as *Irenæus* teſtifieth; or the fourteenth yeare of his government, as [o] *Euſebius* and *Hierome* ſpecifie it. From thence there are but *twelve* yeares reckoned unto the tenth of *Trajan*: wherein *Ignatius*, in that laſt journey which he made for the conſummation of his glorious Martyrdome at *Rome*, wrote another Epiſtle unto the ſelfe-ſame Church of *Epheſus*. In which he maketh mention of their then Biſhop *Oneſimus*: as it appeares both by [p] *Euſebius* citing this out of it, and by the Epiſtle it ſelfe yet extant.

In this Epiſtle to the Epheſians, *Ignatius* having acknowledged that their [q] *numerous multitude* was received by him in the perſon of their Biſhop *Oneſimus*, and [r] bleſſed God for granting unto them ſuch a *Biſhop* as he was: doth afterwards put them in minde of their [s] duty in *concurring* with him, as he ſheweth their worthy *Presbytery* did, being [t] *ſo conjoyn'd* (as he ſaith) *with their Biſhop, as the ſtrings are with the Harpe*: and toward the end exhorteth them to [u] *obey both the Biſhop and the Presbytery, with an undivided minde.*

In the ſame journey wrote *Ignatius* alſo an Epiſtle unto the Church of *Smyrna*, another of the *ſeven*, unto whom thoſe letters are directed in S. *Johns* Revelation, wherein he alſo [x] ſaluteth their *Biſhop* and *Presbytery*: exhorting all the people to [y] *follow their Biſhop, as Chriſt Jeſus did his Father, and the Presbytery, as the Apoſtles*; and telling them that [z] no man ought either to adminiſter the Sacraments, or doe any thing appertaining to the Church, without the conſent of the *Biſhop*.

Who this *Biſhop*, and what that *Presbytery* was; appear-

n Πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομιτιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. Iren. *adverſ. hæreſ. lib.* 5. *cap.* 30.

o Euſeb. *Chron.* Hier. *Catal. ſcriptor. Eccleſiaſt. in* Johanne.

p Euſeb. *lib.* 3. *hiſt. cap.* 22.

q Τῷ πολυπληθείαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ. Ignat. *epiſt. ad* Epheſ.

r Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν τοιούτοις οὖσι τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον. *Ibid.*

s Ὅθεν ὑμῖν πρέπει συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ. *Ibid.*

t Τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον πρεσβυτέριον, ἄξιον ὂν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτως συνήρμοσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ. *Ibid.*

u Ὑπακούοντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ. *Ibid.*

x Ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον [ὑμῶν] Πολύκαρπον] καὶ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον. *Id. in epiſt. ad Smyrn.*

y Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. *Ibid.*

z Μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐστὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, &c. *Ibid.*

eth

eth by another Epiſtle written a little after from *Smyrna*, by * *Polycarpus and the Presbyters that were with him*, unto the *Philippians*. And that the ſame *Polycarpus* was then alſo *Biſhop* there, when S. *John* wrote unto *the Angel of the Church of Smyrna*; who can better informe us then *Irenæus?* who did not onely know thoſe worthy men, [a] *who ſucceeded* Polycarpus *in his See*; but alſo [b] was preſent, when he himſelfe did diſcourſe of his converſation with S. *John*, and of thoſe things which he heard from thoſe who had ſeen our Lord *Jeſus*.

Polycarpus, [c] ſaith he, *was not only taught by the Apoſtles and converſed with many of thoſe that had ſeen Chriſt, but alſo was by the Apoſtles conſtituted in Aſia Biſhop of the Church which is in Smyrna: whom we our ſelves alſo did ſee in our younger age. for he continued long: and being very aged, he moſt gloriouſly and nobly ſuffering Martyrdome departed this life.*

Now being ordained Biſhop of *Smyrna* by the *Apoſtles*; who had finiſhed their courſe, and departed out of this life before S. *John* (the laſt ſurviver of them) did write his *Revelation*: who but he could there be meant by *the Angell of the Church in Smyrna?* in which that he ſtill held his Epiſcopall office unto the time of his Martyrdome (which fell out LXXIV. yeares afterward) may ſufficiently appeare by this teſtimony, which the brethren of the Church of *Smyrna*, who were preſent at his ſuffering, gave unto him. [d] *He was the moſt admirable man in our times, an Apoſtolicall and Prophetical Doctor, and Biſhop of the Catholick Church which is in Smyrna.* Whereunto we may adde the like of *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, who lived alſo in his time and in his neighbourhood, affirming [e] *Polycarpus* to have been *both Biſhop and Martyr in Smyrna*. So ſaith he in his Synodicall Epiſtle, di-

* Πολύκαρπος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους. Polycarp. epiſt. ad Philippenſ.

a Οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεξάμενοι τὸν τοῦ Πολυκάρπου τρόπον. Iren. adverſ. hereſ. lib. 3. cap. 3.

b Id. in epiſt. ad Florinum: (apud Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 20.) & ad Victorem, (ibid cap. 25)

c καὶ Πολύκαρπος οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ. ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε, καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου. Iren. lib. 3. cap. 3. Vid. & Euſeb. lib. 3 hiſt. cap. 36. d ὃς καὶ γέγονεν ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τε τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Smyrnenſ Eccleſ epiſt. de martyrio Polycarpi. Euſeb. lib. 4. hiſt. cap. 15. e Πολύκαρπος, ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. Polycrat. epiſt. ad Victorem: apud Euſeb. lib. 5. hiſt. cap. 24.

rected unto *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, about 27 yeares after the Martyrdome of *Polycarpus*; he himſelfe being at that time 65 yeares of age.

About the very ſame time wherein *Polycrates* wrote this Epiſtle unto *Victor*, did *Tertullian* publiſh his book of Preſcriptions againſt Hereticks: wherein he avoucheth againſt them, that [f] as *the Church of Smyrna had* Polycarpus *placed there by* John, *and the Church of Rome* Clement *ordained by* Peter; *ſo the reſt of the Churches alſo did ſhew, what Biſhops they had received by the appointment of the Apoſtles, to traduce the Apoſtolicall ſeed unto them.* And ſo before him did *Irenæus* urge againſt them [g] *the ſucceſſions of Biſhops, unto whom the Apoſtles committed the charge of the Church in every place.* [h] For all the Hereticks (ſaith he) *are much later then thoſe Biſhops, unto whom the Apoſtles committed the Churches.* And, [i] *we are able to number thoſe who by the Apoſtles were ordained Biſhops in the Churches, and their Succeſſours unto our dayes; who neither taught nor knew any ſuch thing as theſe men dreame of.*

For proofe whereof, he bringeth in the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome*, from [k] *Linus* (unto whom the bleſſed *Apoſtles* committed that *Epiſcopacy*) and *Anacletus* (by others called *Cletus*) and *Clement* (*who did both ſee the Apoſtles, and conferred with them*) unto [l] *Eleutherius*; who when *Irenæus* wrote, *had the charge of that Biſhoprick in the twelfth place after the Apoſtles.* Concerning whom, and the integrity which then continued in each other ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles dayes, *Hegeſippus*, who at the ſame time publiſhed

f *Sicut Smyrnæorum Eccleſia Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, ſicut Romanorum* Clementem *à Petro ordinatum edit: proinde (or, perinde) utique & cæteræ exhibent quos, ab Apoſtolis in Epiſcopatum conſtitutos, Apoſtolici ſeminis traduces habent.* Tertul. *de Præſcript. cap.* 32. *Vid. & ejuſd. lib.* 4 *contra* Marcion. *cap.* 5.

g *Succeſſiones Epiſcoporum, quibus Apoſtolicam quæ in unoquoque loco eſt Eccleſiam tradiderunt.* Iren. *lib.* 4. *adverſ. hæreſ. cap.* 63.

h *Omnes enim ii valdè poſteriores ſunt quàm Epiſcopi, quibus Apoſtoli tradiderunt Eccleſias.* *Id lib.* 5. *cap.* 20.

i *Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi in Eccleſiis, & ſucceſſores eorum uſque ad nos; qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur.* *Id. lib* 3. *cap.* 3.

k Θεμελιώσαντες δὲ καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι τὸν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. (τούτου Φ Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται.) διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος. μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν κλῆσιν τὸ τρίτῳ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν κλῆρον τυγχάνει Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους Ἀποστόλους, καὶ συμβεβληκὼς αὐτοῖς. *Id. ibid.* l Νῦν δὲ διαδέχεται τὸν τόπον τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλῆρον Ἐλεύθερος. *Ibid.*

his

his Hiſtory of the Church, ſaith thus. [m] *Soter ſucceeded Anicetus, and after him was Eleutherius. Now, in every ſucceſſion, and in every City, all things ſo ſtand, as the Law and the Prophets and our Lord doe preach.*

And more particularly concerning the Church of *Corinth*, after he had ſpoken of the Epiſtle written unto them by *Clement*, for the repreſſing of ſome factions wherewith they were at that time much troubled (which gave him occaſion to tell them that [o] the *Apoſtles*, of whom he himſelfe was an hearer, had perfect intelligence from our Lord *Ieſus Chriſt*, of the *contention that ſhould ariſe about the name of Epiſcopacy*) he declareth, that after the appeaſing of this tumult, [p] the Church of the *Corinthians* continued in the right way, untill the dayes of *Primus*, whom he did viſite in his ſayling toward *Rome*. Which *Primus* had for his ſucceſſour that famous *Dionyſius*, whoſe Epiſtle to the Church of the *Athenians* hath beene before nominated; wherein he put them in minde of [q] *the firſt Biſhop* that had been placed over them, even *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, [r] S. *Pauls* owne convert. a thing whereof they could at that time have no more cauſe to doubt, then we ſhould have, if any queſtion were now made of the Biſhops that were here in King *Edward* the VI. or Queen *Maryes* dayes: I might alſo ſay, in the middle of the raigne of Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelfe; if with [s] *Baronius* I would produce the *Areopagites* life unto the government of the Emperour *Hadrian*.

This *Hegeſippus*, living next after *the firſt ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles* (as [t] *Euſebius* noteth) and being himſelfe a Chriſtian [u] of the race of the *Hebrewes*; was carefull to record unto poſterity the ſtate of the Church of *Ieruſalem* in the dayes of the Apoſtles, and the alteration that followed after their departure

m Παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτὴρ, μεθ' ὃν Ἐλεύθερος. Ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος. Hegeſip. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. hiſt. cap. 22.

n Μετὰ (ita enim ex MS. legendum, non μεγάλα) τὴν κατάπαυσιν ταύτην τῆς Κλήμεντος στάσεως Κορινθίων ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῇ εἰρημένης. Euſeb. lib. 4. hiſtor. cap. 22. cum lib. 3 cap. 15.

o Καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν ἤγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔσται ἔρις ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν, πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους. Clem. epiſt. ad Corinth. pag. 57. edit. D. Patricii Junii. p Καὶ ἐπέμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Κορινθίων ἐν τῇ ὀρθῇ λόγῳ, μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ᾧ (ita MS. non οἷς) συνέμιξα πλέων εἰς Ῥώμην. Hegeſip. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 22. q *Dionyſ. Corinth. apud eund. Euſeb. lib* 3. cap. 4. & *lib.* 4. cap. 23. r Act. 17. 34. s *Baron. Annal. tom.* 2. *ann.* 120. t Euſeb. *lib.* 2. cap. 23. u Ὁ Ἡγήσιππος (non, ut vulgò legitur, Ἰώσιππος) ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀποστόλων γενόμενος καὶ διαδοχῆς. *Egeſippus qui poſt ipſos ſtatim primos Apoſtolorum ſucceſſiones fuit*: ut Ruſinus locum expreſſit. u Euſeb. *lib.* 4. cap. 22. *fin.*

parture out of this life. Where first he sheweth, that [x] *Iames* the brother of our Lord, surnamed the *Iust*, did governe that Church together *with the Apostles*: yet so (as [y] *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who wrote some twenty yeares after him, further addeth) that he had this preferment even before the three prime Apostles, *Peter* and the two sonnes of *Zebedee* (*Iames* and *Iohn*) to be chosen the peculiar *Bishop of Ierusalem*, the then mother Church of the world.

After the death of *Iames* the Iust, [z] *Hegesippus* declareth that *Symeon* the sonne of *Clopas* or *Cleophas* was constituted *Bishop*, and so continued untill the dayes of the Emperour *Trajan*: under whom he suffered a glorious Martyrdome (about the same time that *Ignatius* did) being then *an hundred and twenty years of age*; and by that account borne before the Incarnation of our blessed Saviour. Where, the observation of this prime Historian is not to be passed over: that [a] untill these times the Church was called a *Virgin*; as being not yet corrupted with the overspreading of heretical all doctrine. For howsoever heresies did spring up before, yet they were so kept down by the authority of the Apostles and the Disciples who had heard our Lord himselfe preach; that the authors and fautors thereof were not able to get any great head, being forced (by the authority of such opposites) to lurk in obscurity.

But as soone as all that generation was gathered unto their fathers, and none of those were left who had the happinesse to heare the gracious words that proceeded from the Lords

x Διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων Δίκαιος. Hegesipp. *Commentarior. lib.* 5. *apud eund.* Euseb. *lib.* 2. *cap.* xy.

y Clem. *in libro* 6°. *Hypotyposeôn: ubi narrat,* Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιποθῆσαι δόξης, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν Δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι. *apud eund. l.* 2. *cap.* a.

z *Apud* Euseb. *lib.* 4. *cap.* xβ. *Vid eund lib* 3. *cap.* ια. & λβ.

a ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τοῦ τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία. ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει φωλεύοντων εἰσέτι τότε τοῦ, εἰ καί τινες ὑπῆρχεν, παραφθείρειν ὀπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τῆς σωτηρίας κηρύγματος. ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τοῦ σύλλογος χορὸς διαφοιτῶν εἰλήφει τὸ βίου τέλος, παρελαμβάνετο τε ἡ γνησία ἐκείνη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκεραίως τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἳ καὶ ἅτε μηδενὸς ἔτι τοῦ σοφοῦ λειπομένου, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῇ κεφαλῇ, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὸ ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρει. Hegesipp. *apud eund. lib.* 3. *cap.* λβ.

owne

owne mouth: the *Heretickes*, taking that advantage, began to enter into a kind of combination, and with open face publiquely to maintaine the (*b*) *oppositions of their science falsly so called* (from whence they assumed unto themselves the name of *Gnosticks*, or men of knowledge) against the preaching of that truth, which by those who were [c] *eye-witnesses* and ministers of the Word had beene [d] ONCE *delivered unto the Saints*. [e] The first beginner of which conspiracy was one *Thebuthis*: who had at the first beene bred in one of the *seven sects*, into which the people of the *Jewes* were in those daies divided; but afterwards, because he missed of a *Bishopricke* unto which he had aspired, (this of *Jerusalem*, as it may seem; whereunto *Iustus*, after the death of *Symeon*, was preferred before him) could thinke of no readyer a way throughly to revenge himselfe of this disgrace, then by raysing up the like distractions among the Christians. Which as, in the *effect*, it sheweth the malignity of that ambitious Sectary; so doth it, in the *occasion*, discover withall the great esteeme that in those early dayes was had of Episcopacy.

When *Hegesippus* wrote this Ecclesiasticall history (the ancientest of any, since the Acts of the Apostles) *Eleutherius* as we heard before, was Bishop of the Church of *Rome*: unto whom [f] *Lucius King of the Brittaines* (as our *Bede* relateth) *sent an Epistle; desiring that by his meanes he might be made Christian. Who presently obtained the effect of his pious request: and the Brittaines kept the faith then received sound and undefiled in quiet peace, untill the times of* Diocletian *the Emperour*. By whose bloudy persecution the faith and discipline of our Brittish Churches was not yet so quite extinguished; but that within ten yeares after (and eleven before the first generall Councell of *Nice*) three of our Bishops were present and subscribed unto the Councell of *Arles*: [g] *Eborius* of *York*, *Restitutus* of *London*, and *Adelfius* of *Colchester*; if that be it, which is called there *Colonia Londinensium*. The first root

b ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως. 1. Tim. 6. 20.

c Luk. 1. 2.

d Jude, vers. 3.

e Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἡγούμενος τῆς ἑτέρας τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων παρεδύετο. ὅπου γὰρ ἐφθάρητο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις. Ἄρχεται δ' ὁ Θεβούθις, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ὁπίσκοπον, ἐπιτορθεύειν. Ἀπὸ δὴ ἐκείνου αἱρέσεων εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς ἐλθούσας τῷ λαῷ. Hegesipp. apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. xb.

f *Misit ad eum* Lucius *Britannorum Rex epistolam: obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur. Et mox effectum piæ postulationis consecutus est: suscepta denique fide Britanni usque in tempora* Diocletiani *Principis inviolatam integramque quietâ pace servabant.* Bed. hist. eccles. Anglor. lib. 1. cap. 4.

g Tom. 1. Concilior. Galliæ, à Sirmondo edit. pag. 9.

of whose succession we must fetch beyond *Eleutherius*, and as high as S. *Peter* himselfe: if it be true, that he [h] *constituted Churches here, and ordained Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons* in them; as *Symeon Metaphrastes* relateth out of some part of [i] *Eusebius* (as it seemeth) that is not come unto our hands.

But, to returne unto the *Angells of the seven Churches*, mentioned in the Revelation of S. *Iohn*: by what hath beene said, it is apparent, that *seven* singular *Bishops*, who were the constant Presidents over those Churches, are pointed at under that name. For other sure they could not be; if all of them were cast into one mould, and were of the same quality with *Polycarpus*, the then *Angell* of *the Church in Smyrna*: who without all question was such, if any credit may be given herein unto those that saw him and were well acquainted with him.

And as *Tertullian* in expresse termes affirmeth him to have beene placed there by S. *Iohn* himselfe (in the testimony before alledged out of his [k] *Prescriptions*:) so doth he else-where, from the order of the succeeding Bishops, not obscurely intimate, that the rest of that number were to be referred unto the same descent. [l] *We have*, saith he, *the Churches that were bred by* Iohn. *For although* Marcion *doe reject his Revelation; yet the order of the Bishops reckoned up unto their originall, will stand for* Iohn *to be their Founder.*

Neither doth the ancient Writer of the Martyrdome of *Timothy* (mentioned by *Photius*) meane any other by those *seven Bishops*, whose assistance he saith S. *Iohn* did use, after his returne from *Patmos*, in the government of *the Metropolis of the Ephesians*. For [m] *being revoked from his exile*, saith he, *by the sentence of* Nerva, *he betooke himselfe to the Metropolis of Ephesus; and being assisted with the presence of* SEVEN *Bi-*

h Ἐπιμένας τε ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ ἡμέρας πινὰς, καὶ πολλὲς τῷ λόγῳ φωτίσας τ χάριτος, ἐκκλησίας τε συνιστάμενος, ἐπισκόπες τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρες καὶ διακόνες χειροτονήσας, δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τὰ Καίσαρος Νέρωνος αὖθις εἰς Ῥώμην παραγίνεται. *Metaphrast. Commentar. de* Petro & Paulo, *ad diem* 29. *Iunii.*

i Ἐυσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλε δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔτη διατρίψαι Πέτρον λέγει ἐν τῇ ἀποστολῇ, εἴκοσι ἓξ καὶ πρίν πεποιημένα ἔως τε Ῥώμης καὶ πρὸ Βρεταννίαν καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ πρὸ δύσιν πόλεις. *Ibid.*

k Tertull. *Prescript.* c. 32. *Similiter &* Hieronymus in *Catal. script. Eccles. cap.* 17. *in* Polycarpo; & Nicephorus, *lib.* 3. *Hist. Eccles. cap.* 2. I Habemus & Johannis *alumnas Ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit; ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recensus, in* Johannem *stabit auctorem. Sic & cæterarum generosas recognoscitur.* Tertullian. *adverss.* Marcion. *lib.* 4. c. 5. m Τῦ φθορικὸν Νέρβα τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀνακληθέντος, τὴν Ἐφεσίων ἀπῴκησε μητρόπολιν. καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖσε, ὥσπερ συμπαρόντων ἐπισκόπων, τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται μητροπόλεως. καὶ διηκρι τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας κηρύττων λόγον ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας Τραϊανῦ. Phot. *Bibliothec. num.* 254.

Hoge

ſhops, he tooke upon him the government of the Metropolis of the Epheſians: and continued, preaching the word of piety, untill the Empire of Trajan.

That he remained with the *Epheſians* and the reſt of the brethren of *Aſia*, untill the dayes of *Trajan*, and that during the time of his abode with them, he publiſhed his *Goſpell*; is ſufficiently witneſſed by [n] *Irenæus*. That upon his returne from the Iland, after the death of *Domitian*, hee applyed himſelfe to the government of the Churches of *Aſia*, is confirmed likewiſe both by [o] *Euſebius*, and by [p] *Hierom*: who further addeth, that [q] at the earneſt intreaty of the *Biſhops of Aſia* he wrote there his *Goſpell*.

And that he himſelfe alſo, being free from his baniſhment, did ordaine *Biſhops* in divers Churches, is clearely teſtified by *Clement* of *Alexandria*; who lived in the next age after, and delivereth it as a certaine truth, which he had received from thoſe who went before him, and could not be farre from the time wherein the thing it ſelfe was acted. [r] When S. *John* (ſaith he) Domitian *the Tyrant being dead, removed from the Iland of* Patmos *unto* Epheſus, *by the intreaty of ſome he went alſo unto the neighbouring nations; in ſome places conſtituting Biſhops, in others founding whole Churches.*

Among theſe neighbouring Churches was that of *Hierapolis*: which had *Papias* placed [s] *Biſhop* therein. That this man was [t] *a hearer of* S. John, *and a companion of* Polycarpus, is teſtified by his owne Schollar [u] *Irenæus*: and that he converſed with [x] *the diſciples of the Apoſtles*, and of *Chriſt* alſo; he himſelfe doth thus declare, in the Proëme of the five bookes which he intituled, A declaration of the words of the Lord.

n Irenæus *adverſ. hæreſ. l. 2. cap. 39. item. lib. 3. c. 1. & 3.*

o Euſeb. *lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 23.*

p Hieronym. *in Catal. ſcript. Eccleſiaſt. c. 9.*

q *Id. ibid. & Præfat. in Evangel. Matthæi.*

r Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρέστη τελευτῆσαι τὸν τύραννον, ἐπὶ τὴν Πάτμιον ἐκ νήσου μετῆλθεν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπιὼν πορευόμενος δὲ καὶ παρακλήσεως χάριν ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἃ μὲν ἐπισκόπους καθιστῶν, ἃ δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀριθμῷ. Clem. Alexandrin. *in lib. de divite ſalvando. (qui falſo Origenis nomine habetur editus, ad calcem tomi 3. Commentariorum* Michaelis *Gbiſterii.)* Euſeb. *hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 23.*

s Euſeb. *lib 3. hiſt. cap. 36.* Hieron. *Catal. ſcript. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 18. & Chronic. ad ann Trajani 2:*

t Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστὴς, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονὼς, ἀρχαῖος ἄνθρ. Irenæus, *vir Apoſtolicorum temporum & Papiæ auditoris adverſ. hæreſ. lib. 5. cap. 33.*

u Irenæus, *vir Apoſtolicorum temporum & Papiæ auditoris Evangeliſtæ* Johannis *diſcipulus, Epiſcopus eccleſiæ Lugdunenſis.* Hieronym. *epiſt. 29. ad Theodoram.*

x Hi ſunt *Presbyteri Apoſtolorum diſcipuli*, quorum *Ireneus*, lib. 5. cap. 36. meminit.

[y] *If upon occasion any of the Presbyters which had accompanyed the Apostles did come; I diligently enquired what were the speeches which the Apostles used. what* Andrew *or what* Peter *did say, or what* Philip, *or* Thomas, *or* James, *or* John, *or* Matthew, *or some other of the disciples of the Lord; and the things that* Aristion *and* John *the Elder, our Lords disciples, did speak*'. The two last of whom he often cited by name in the processe of the worke; relating the passages in this kind which he had heard from them.

Neither can any man be so simple as to imagine, that in the language of *Clemens Alexandrinus* the name of a *Bishop* should import no more then a bare *Presbyter*: if he consider, that not the [z] difference onely betwixt *Presbyters, Bishops* and *Deacons* is by him acknowledged; but further also, that the disposition of their three offices, in his judgement, doth carry with it [a] an *imitation of the Angelicall glory*. to say nothing of the Emperour *Hadrian*: who, hard upon the time of the fore-named *Papias*, writing unto the Consul *Servianus* touching the state of things in *Ægypt*, maketh distinct mention in his letter of [c] the *Presbyters of the Christians*, and of those [d] who call themselves the *Bishops of Christ*.

And thus having deduced *Episcopacy* from the Apostolicall times; and declared, *that the Angels of the seven Churches* were no other, but such as in the next age after the Apostles were by the Fathers tearmed *Bishops*: wee are now further to enquire, why these Churches are confined unto the number of *seven*, in the superscription of that Apostolicall Epistle prefixed before the booke of the Revelation. [e] *John to the seven Churches in* Asia: *Grace be unto you and peace.* where S. *John*

directing

y Εἰ δέ που καὶ τῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρων παρηκολουθηκὼς τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τοῦ Ἀποστόλων ἀνέκρινον λόγους (ita enim ex Græcis MSS. & vetere Rufini versione locus est restituendus) τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος, ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος, ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἅτε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. Papias, in Proœmio Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως, apud Euseb. lib. 3. hist. cap. 18.

z Ἀλεξίων δὲ καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι. ὁμοίως γὰρ πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς μετὰ συγγράμματα τίθησιν αὐτῶν τὰς δόξας. Euseb. ibid.

a Μιμεῖται δὲ ὅσα ἐπιτέλει, τὴν θείαν ἀκολουθίαν διατείνουσα ἐγκεχάραγμα τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ἀγάπης. αἱ μὲν πρεσβυτέρεις, αἱ δὲ ἐπισκοπαὶ, διακονίαι· ἄλλαι, χῆρεις. Clem. Alexandr. Pædagog. lib. 3. cap. ult.

b Αἱ ἐσταὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τάξεις, ἐπισκοπαὶ, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μιμήματα εἶναι τῆς ἀγγελικῆς δόξης. Id. Stromat. l. 6.

c Nemo Christianorum Presbyter. Hadrian. epist. ad Servian. apud Fl. Vopisc. in vit. Saturnini.

d Qui se Christi Episcopos dicunt. Id. ibid.

e Revel. 1. 4.

directing his letters unto them thus indefinitly, without any mention of their particular names; cannot by common intendment be conceived to have understood any other thereby, but such as by some degree of eminency were distinguishable from all the rest of the Churches that were in *Asia*, and in some sort also did comprehend all the rest under them.

For taking *Asia* here in that stricter sense, wherein the New Testament useth it, as denoting the *Lydian Asia* alone (of the circuit whereof I have treated [f] elsewhere more particularly:) it is not to be imagined, that after so long paines taken by the Apostles and their disciples in the husbanding of that part of the Lords vineyard, there should be found no more but *seven* Churches therein. especially since S. *Paul* that [g] *wise master-builder* professeth, that he had here [h] *a great doore and effectuall opened* unto him: and S. *Luke* testifieth accordingly, that [i] *all they which dwelt in* Asia *heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Iewes and Greekes*; *so mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.* Which extraordinary blessing of God upon his labours, moved the Apostle to make his residence [k] in those parts for *the space of three yeares*: wherein he *ceased not to warne every one night and day with teares.*

So that in all reason we are to suppose, that these *seven* Churches (comprising all the rest within them) were not bare *Parochiall* ones, or so many particular congregations; but *Dioc*esan Churches (as we use to call them) if not *Metropolitical* rather. For that in [l] *Laodicea*, *Sardis*, *Smyrna*, *Ephesus* and [m] *Pergamus*, the Roman governours held their Courts of justice, to which all the cities and townes about had recourse for the ending of their suites; is noted by *Pliny*. And besides these (which were the greatest) *Thyatira* is also by [n] *Ptolemy* expressly named a *Metropolis*: as *Philadelphia* also is, in the [o] Greek Acts of the Councell of *Constantinople* held under *Menas*. Which giveth us good ground to conceive, that the *seven* Cities, in which these *seven* Churches had their seat, were all of them *Metropolitical*, and so had relation unto the rest of the townes and Cities of *Asia*, as unto *daughters* rising under them.

[f] Disquisit. touching the *Asia* pre- so called chap. 2.
[g] 1 Cor
[h] 1. Co. 8, 9.
[i] Act. 1 20.
[k] Act. 3 31.
[l] Plin. hist. nat. cap. 29.
[m] Id. ibid. c. 30.
[n] Ptolem. Geograph. lib. 5.
[o] Concil. Con: stantinop. sub Menâ, Act. 5.

This *Lydian Asia* was separated from *Caria* by the river *Meander*: upon the banks whereof *Magnesia* and *Trallis* were seated. to the Christians whereof *Ignatius* directed two of his epistles; wherein he maketh mention of *Damas* Bishop of the one Church, and *Polybius* Bishop (or [p] *Ruler*, as *Eusebius* calleth him) of the other, whom they had sent to visit him at *Smyrna*. adding withall in that to the *Trallians*, his usuall admonitions. [q] *Be subject to the Bishop, as to the Lord:* and [r] *to the Presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope.* [s] *He that doth any thing without the Bishop and the Presbyters and the Deacons, such a one is defiled in conscience.* [t] *Fare yee well in Iesus Christ; being subject to the Bishop, and likewise to the Presbyters.*

Wherein we may note, that within *twelve* years after mention of the *seven* Churches made in the *Apocalyps* (for then, as hath beene shewed, were these epistles of *Ignatius* written) other Episcopall cities are found in the same *Lydian Asia*: and two such, as in after times are well knowne to have beene [u] under the government of the *Metropolitan of Ephesus*. But whether this subordination were as ancient as the dayes of *Ignatius* (whose Epistles are extant unto these three Churches) and [x] *Damas* the then Bishop of *Magnesia*, with *Polybius* of *Trallis*, were at that time subject to *Onesimus* the Bishop of *Ephesus*, might well be doubted: but that the same *Ignatius* directeth one of his Epistles unto the Church [y] *which had presidency in the place of the Region of the Romans*; and in the body thereof doth attribute unto himselfe the title of *the Bishop of Syria*. Whereby, as he intimateth himselfe to have beene not onely the Bishop of *Antioch*, but also of the rest of the province of *Syria*, which was under that *Metropolis*: so doth he likewise not obscurely signifie that the Bishop of *Rome* had at that time a presidency over the Churches that were in the [z] *Urbicarian Region*, as the Imperiall Constitutions, or the

p Ἄρχοντα. Euseb. *lib.* 3 *hist. cap.* 22.

q Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ. Ignat. *epist. ad* Trallian.

r Ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν. *Ibid.*

s Ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσων, ὁ τοιοῦτος μεμίανται τῇ συνειδήσει. *Ibid.*

t Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις &c. *Ibid.*

u Ordo Metropolitar. in Append. Geograph. sacr. Caroli à S. Paulo, pag. 11. & in tomo 1. Juris Græco-Romani, à Jo. Leunclavio edit. pag. 90.

x Euseb. lib. 3. hist. cap. 22.

y Ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χώρας Ῥωμαίων. Ignat. epist. ad Roman.

z Ex Urbicariâ Regione. Cod. Theod. lib. 12. tit. 2. leg. 3.

Roman

[a] *Roman Province*, as the Acts of the first Councell of *Arles* call it.

What that *Urbicarian Region* was, I will not now stand to discusse: whether *Tuscia* onely, wherein *Rome* it selfe was situated (which in the dayes of *Ignatius* was one entire region, but afterwards divided into *Tuscia Suburbicaria* and *Annonaria*) or the territory wherein the *Praefectus Urbis* did exercise his jurisdiction (which was confined within the compasse of a hundred miles about the City) or, with that, those other provinces also whereunto the authority of the *Vicarius Urbis* did extend; or lastly the circuit within which those 69 Bishopricks were contained that [a] were immediately subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, and frequently called to his *Synods*; the names whereof are found registred in the Records of that Church. The antiquity of which number as it may in some sort receive confirmation from the *Roman Synod of seventy Bishops* held under *Gelasius*: so for the distinction of the Bishops which belonged to the city of *Rome*, from those that appertained to *Italy*, we have a farre more ancient testimony from the Edict of the Emperour *Aurelian*; who in the controversie that arose betwixt *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Domnus* for the house which belonged unto the Church of *Antioch*, commanded that it should be delivered to them, [b] to whom the *Bishops* of *Italy* and *Rome* should by their letters declare that it ought to be given. which distinction, aswell in the forecited [c] Acts of the Councell of *Arles*, as in the Epistles of the [d] *Sardican* Synod and [e] *Athanasius*, may likewise be observed: the name of *Italy* being in a more strict sense applyed therein to the *seven* Provinces, which were under the *Civill* jurisdiction of the *Vicarius* or Lieutenant of *Italy*, and the *Ecclesiasticall* of the Bishop of *Millaine*.

And it is well worth the observing, that the Fathers of the great

[a] *Ex Provinciâ Romanâ, civitate Portuen.* &c. In nominibus quæ Concilio Arelatensi I. præfixa leguntur.

[a] *Insuper præter septem collaterales Episcopos erant alii Episcopi, qui dicuntur suffraganei Romani Pontificis, nulli alii primati vel Archiepiscopo subjecti; qui frequenter ad Synodos vocarentur.* MS. Vatican. apud Baron. ann. 1057. §. 23.

[b] Οἷς ἂν οἱ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοποι ἐπιστείλωσιν ἐνδοκίμους: *saith* Nicephorus Callist. lib. 6. Hist. cap. 29. *but* Eusebius, lib. 7. *more fully.* οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπισκοποῦντες τὰ δόγματος ἐπιστείλωσιν.

[c] *Ex provinciâ Italiæ, civitate Mediolanen.* &c. *Ex provinciâ Romanâ*, civitate *Portuen.* ut suprà. [d] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος συναχθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας. Synod. Sardic. epist. ad Alexandrin. in 2. Athanasii Apologiâ (tomo 1. Oper. edit. Commelin. pag. 788.) [e] Ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης. Athanas. epist. ad solitar. vit. agentes. (ibid. pag. 640.)

great Councell of *Nice* afterwards confirming this kinde of primacy, in the Biſhops of *Alexandria*, *Rome* and *Antioch*, and [f] in the Metropolitans of other Provinces; do make their entrance into that Canon with Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω. *Let the* ANCIENT *cuſtomes continue.* Which as it cleareth the antiquity of the Metropoliticall juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*; ſo doth it likewiſe confirme the opinion of thoſe, who conceive the Metropolitan of *Alexandria* to be meant in that paſſage of the Emperour *Hadrians* epiſtle unto *Servianus*. [g] *Even the very Patriarch himſelfe, when he commeth into Ægypt, is by ſome compelled to adore Serapis, and by others to worſhip Chriſt*, as if, upon his returning into Ægypt, either from his viſitation of *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* (which this ſame *Nicene* Canon ſheweth to have of old belonged unto his care) or from his flight in that preſent time of perſecution; he ſhould ſuffer this diſtraction: the heathen labouring to compell him to the worſhip of *Serapis*, and his owne Chriſtian flock on the other ſide ſtriving to keepe him conſtant in the ſervice of *Chriſt*. For that either the Heathen had *will*, or the Chriſtians *power* at that time to force the *Jewiſh* Patriarch (of whom ſome doe underſtand the place) to the adoration of *Chriſt*; hath no manner of probability in it.

That part alſo of the Canon, which ratifieth the ancient rights of Metropolitans of all other Provinces, may ſerve to open unto us the meaning of that complaint which, ſome threeſcore and ten yeares before the time of this Synod, S. *Cyprian* made againſt *Novatianus*; for the confuſion which by his ſchiſme he brought upon the Churches of God: that [h] *whereas long ſince in all Provinces, and in all Cities, Biſhops had beene ordained, in age ancient, ſound in faith, tryed in affliction, proſcribed in perſecution; yet tooke he the boldneſſe to create other falſe Biſhops over their heads*, namely, ſubordinate *Biſhops* in every *City*, and *Metropolitans* in every *Province*.

In *Africke* at that time, although there were many civill

f Ὁμοίως ὑ χ χτ πὼν Ἀντιόχειαν, χ ἐ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. κ.θόλ ὑ πεφόνλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης μη τροπολίτ γένοιτο δίσκοπος, ἢ τοιοῦτον ἢ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶ ἐπίσκοπον. Concil. Nicæn. 1. Can. 6.

g *Ipſe ille Patriarcha quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Chriſtum.* Hadrian. epiſt. ad Servian. apud Vopiſc. in *Saturnino.*

h *Cùm jampridem per omnes provincias, & per urbes ſingulas, ordinati ſint Epiſcopi in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in preſſurâ probati, in perſecutione proſcripti; ille ſuper eos creare alios pſeudo-epiſcopos audeat.* Cyprian. epiſt. 52.

Provinces

Provinces, yet was there but one Eccleſiaſticall: whereof *Cyprian* himſelfe was [i] *Archbiſhop*; as the Fathers of the *Trullan* Synod call him. It pleaſed, ſaith he in one of his Epiſtles, [k] *all the Biſhops conſtituted either in our Province or beyond the Sea*: intimating thereby, that all the Biſhops which were on his ſide the Sea did belong unto one Province. [l] *For our Province*, ſaith he in another place, *is ſpread more largely; having* Numidia *alſo, and both the* Mauritaniaes, *annexed unto it.* Whence that great Councell aſſembled by him for determining the queſtion touching the baptizing of thoſe that had beene baptized by Hereticks, is ſaid to be gathered [m] *out of the Province of Africa, Numidia and Mauritania.* For howſoever in the civill government, the *Proconſular Africa* (wherein *Carthage* was ſeated) *Numidia* and both the *Mauritanies* (*Sitifenſis* and *Caſarienſis*) were accounted three diſtinct Provinces: yet in the Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration they were joyned together and made but one Province, immediately ſubject to the Metropoliticall juriſdiction of the prime See of *Carthage*.

Some threeſcore yeares before this *African* Councell was held by *Cyprian*, thoſe other Provinciall Synods were aſſembled by the Metropolitans of ſundry nations, for the compoſing of the Paſchall controverſie, then hotly purſued: and among the reſt, that in our neighbour country, out of [n] *the Pariſhes* (for ſo, in the ancient language of the Church, thoſe precincts were named, which now we call *Dioceſes*) *of which Irenæus had the ſuperintendency*; whence alſo he wrote that free Epiſtle unto *Victor* Biſhop of Rome, [o] *in the perſon of thoſe brethren over whom he was preſident.* at which time (and before) the [p] moſt famous *Metropoles* of that country, and ſo the [q] moſt eminent *Churches* therein, were *Lyons* and *Vienna*; in the one whereof *Irenæus* * was then no leſſe renowned a Prelat, then *Cyprian* was afterwards in *Africa*.

Dionyſius the famous Biſhop of *Corinth*, was elder then

i Τῆ Κυπριανῆ τ γενομένῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπῃ τῆς Ἀφρων χώρας. Concil. Conſtantinopol. in Trullo, Can. 2.

k *Univerſis Epiſcopis, vel in noſtrâ provinciâ vel trans mare conſtitutis.* Cyprian. epiſt. 40.

l *Quoniam latius ſusa eſt noſtra provincia; habet etiam Numidiam & Mauritanias duas ſibi cohærentes.* Id. epiſt. 45.

m *Ex provinciâ Africâ, Numidiâ, Mauritaniâ.* Concil. Cypriani.

n Τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν παροικιῶν ἃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει. Euſeb. hiſtor. lib. 5. cap. 23.

o Ἐκ προσώπου ὧν ἡγεῖτο κατὰ Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν. Ibid. cap. 25.

p Ἧς μητροπόλεις ὁμοίως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦν αὐτόθι διαφέρουσι, βεβόνν) Λύγδουν & Βιέννα. Ibid cap. 1

q Αἱ τῆδε διαφανέσταται ἐκκλησίαι. Id. ibid. * ὃς τῆς Πολυκάρπου διδασκαλίας ἀπήλαυσεν, ἡγεμὼν δ' ῥωμὴ Γαλατῶν τῆδ' ἐπαύρων. Theodoret. in Ἀσχέσφ.

they: who among many other Epiſtles, directed one [r] to the Church of *Gortyna*, and all the reſt of the Churches of *Crete*; wherein he ſaluted *their Biſhop Philip*. whereby it appeareth, that at that time, aſwell as in the ages following, [s] *Gortyna* was the *Metropolis*, and the *Biſhop* thereof the *Metropolitan* of all the reſt of that whole Iſland. Which kind of ſuperintendency there, *Euſebius* (the ancienteſt Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorian now extant) deriveth from the very times of *Titus*; whom, out of the hiſtories that were before his time, he relateth to have held [t] *the Biſhoprick of the Churches in Crete*. With whom the Grecians of after times doe fully concurre: as appeareth both by the ſubſcription annexed by them unto the Epiſtle of S. *Paul* [u] to *Titus*, *ordained* (as there they ſay) *the firſt Biſhop of the Church of the Cretians*; and by the argument prefixed by them before the ſame, ſpeaking of him to the ſame effect. that [x] *he was by* Paul *ordained Biſhop of that great countrey*, and *had commiſſion to ordaine the Biſhops that were under him*. which they gather out of thoſe words of S. *Paul* unto him. [y] *For this cauſe left I thee in* Crete, *that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordaine Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee*. Out of which M. *Calvin* collecteth this doctrine unto us for the generall. [z] *We learne out of this place, that there was not then ſuch an equality betwixt the miniſters of the Church, but that there was ſome one who was preſident over the reſt both in authority and in counſell*. and S. *Chryſoſtome*, for the particular of *Titus*. [a] *Had he not beene an approved man, he would not have committed that whole Iland unto him: he would not have commanded him to ſupply the things that were defective; he would not have committed unto him the judgement of ſo many Biſhops, if he had not had very great confidence in the man*. and Biſhop *Jewell*

upon

r Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικούσῃ Γόρτυναν, ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῆς Κρήτης παροικίαις ἐπιστέλλας, Φίλιππον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσι. *Id. lib.* 4 *cap.* xy.

s Subſcript. Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 6. & Concil. Conſtantinop. ſub Menâ Act. 5. & Synodi V. general. Conſtantinop. Collat. 8.

t Τιμόθεος τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱερεὺς μὲν τότε τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εἴληχεν ὡς καὶ Τίτος ἐφ' ὅλης Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν. *Id. lib.* 3. *cap.* a.

u Πρὸς Τίτον τὸν Κρητῶν ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα.

x Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κρήτης, μελίσσης νεὸς, καθιερώθη τοῦτο τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιτρέψαντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους χειροτονῆσαι. Theodoret. argument. epiſt. ad Tit. in Oecumenio.

y Tit. 1. 5.

z *Diſcimus ex hoc loco, non eam fuiſſe tunc aequalitatem inter Eccleſiae miniſtros quin unus aliquis autoritate & conſilio praeſſet.* Calvin. in Tit. 1. 5.

a Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὸς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὅλην ἐπέτρεψεν, οὐκ ἂν τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι προσέταξεν (Ἵνα γάρ, φησι, τὰ λείποντα διορθώσῃ) οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἐθάρρει τῷ ἀνδρί. Chryſoſt. in Tit. 1. Homil. 1.

upon him againe. *Having the government of many Biſhops; what may we call him but an Archbiſhop?*

Which is not ſo much to be wondred at, when we ſee that the Biſhops of another Iland ſtick not (and that without any controll) to deduce the ordination of their *Metropolitan* from the Apoſtolick times, in the face of the whole generall Councell of *Epheſus*. For whereas the *Patriarch* of *Antioch* did claime an intereſt in the ordaining of the *Metropolitan* of *Cyprus*: the Biſhops of that Iland preſcribed to the contrary, that [b] from the time of *the holy Apoſtles it could never be ſhewed, that the Biſhop of* Antioch *was ever preſent at any ſuch ordination, or did ever communicate the grace of ordination to that Iland*; and that the former Biſhops of *Conſtantia* (the *Metropolis* of *Cyprus*) *Troilus*, *Sabinus*, *Epiphanius*, [c] and *all the holy and orthodoxe Biſhops which were before them, ever ſince the holy Apoſtles, were conſtituted by thoſe which were in Cyprus*. and therefore deſired that [d] *as in the beginning from the times of the Apoſtles, and by the conſtitutions and canons of the moſt holy and great Synod of* Nice, *the Synod of the* Cyprian *Biſhops remained untouched and ſuperiour to privy underminings and open power*; ſo they might ſtill be continued in the poſſeſſion of their ancient right. Whereupon the Councell condemning the attempt of the Biſhop of *Antioch*, as [e] an *innovation brought in againſt the Eccleſiaſticall lawes and the canons of the holy Fathers*; did not onely order, that [f] *the governours of the Churches which were in* Cyprus *ſhould keepe their owne right entire and inviolable, according to the Canons of the holy Fathers and their ancient cuſtome*: but alſo [g] for all other

b *A ſanctis Apoſtolis nunquam poſſunt oſtendere quod adfuerit Antiochenus & ordinaverit, vel communicaverit unquam inſulæ ordinationis gratiam, neque alius quiſquam* Concil. Epheſin. Act. 7.

c *Et nunc memorati Epiſcopi, & qui à ſanctis Apoſtolis erant omnes orthodoxi, ab his qui in Cypro conſtituti ſunt.* Ibid.

d *Sicut initio à temporibus Apoſtolorum & conſtitutionibus & canonibus ſanctiſſimæ & magnæ Synodi Nicænæ; illæſa & ſuperior inſidiis & potentiâ permanſit noſtra Cypriorum Synodus.* Ibid.

e Πρᾶγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καινοτομούμενον. Ibid.

f Ἔξεστι τὸ ἀνεπηρίαστον καὶ ἄβιαστον ὅτι τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον φερεσώτες κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν. Ibid.

g Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται. ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν, ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα τὴν οὖσαν, καταλαμβάνειν. & paulo pòſt. Ἔδοξε τοίνυν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ, σώζεσθαι ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἀδιαβλήτως καὶ ἀβιάστως τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια αὐτῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν, καὶ τὸ πάλαι κεκτῆσθαι. Ibid.

Dioceſes and Provinces whereſoever; that no Biſhop ſhould intrude himſelfe into any other Province, which had not formerly and *from the beginning* beene under him or his predeceſſours.

The *beginning* of which kinde of ſubordination of many Biſhops unto one chiefe, if it were not to be derived from *Apoſtolicall* right: yet it is by *Beza* fetched [h] from the ſame light of *Nature* and enforcement of *Neceſſity*, whereby men were at firſt induced to enter into conſociations, ſubjected one unto another; and by *Bucer* acknowledged to have [i] *been conſentaneous to the Law of Chriſt*, and to have *beene done by the right of the body of Chriſt*; and by all men muſt be confeſſed to be conformable to the patterne delivered by *God* unto *Moſes*. For having ſet apart the three families of the *Levites* for his owne ſervice, and conſtituted a *chiefe* (as we have heard) over every of them: he placed immediately over them all, not *Aaron* the *High Prieſt*, but *Eleazar* his ſonne, ſaying, [k] *Eleazar, the ſonne of Aaron the Prieſt, ſhall be chiefe over the chiefe of the Levites; and have the overſight of them that keep the charge of the Sanctuary.*

In reſpect of which *overſight*, as he hath by the *Septuagint* (warrantably enough by the Word of God) given unto him the name of [l] a *Biſhop*: ſo the Holy Ghoſt having vouchſafed to honour him with the title of נשיא נשיאי הלוי, [m] ὁ ἡγούμενος τῶν ἡγουμένων τῶν Λευιτῶν, *the Preſident of the Preſidents of the Levites*; none, that without prejudice did take the matter into conſideration, would much ſtick to afford unto him the name of an *Arch biſhop*, at leaſt he would be taught hereby, to retaine that reverend opinion of the primitive *Biſhops* of the *Chriſtian* Church (who ſo willingly ſubmitted themſelves, not onely to the *Archiepiſcopall*, but alſo to a *Patriarchicall* government) which *Calvin* profeſſed he did: that in all this, they were farre from having a thought, [n] *to deviſe another forme of Church-government, then that which God had preſcribed in his Word.*

h *Neque verò magis exiſtimandum eſt, hunc externum ordinem fuiſſe initio humani generis. Pagi enim ex familiis, & ex pagis urbes, & ex urbibus civitates ipſæ, ſuadente naturâ & neceſſitate flagitante, ſenſim coierunt; aliis aliorum exemplum ſequutis.* Bez. de diverſ. gradib. miniſtr. contr. Sarav. cap. 24. §. 4.

i *Atque hoc conſentiebat legi Chriſti ſicubique ex jure corporis Chriſti.* M. Bucer. de vi & uſu S. Miniſterii. (inter ſcripta ejus Anglicana, pag. 465.)

k Num. 3. 32.

l Ἐπίσκοπος Ἑλλάζαρ, LXX. Num. 4. 16.

m Ibid. Num. 3. 32.

n *Reperiemus veteres Epiſcopos non aliam regendæ Eccleſiæ formam voluiſſe fingere ab eâ quam Deus verbo ſuo præſcripſit.* Calvin. Inſtitut. lib. 4. cap. 4. §. 4.

THE

The VVriters which, in the next age after the Apoſtles, have here given teſtimony for Epiſcopacy.

IN the XIIIIth yeare of *Domitian*, about the XCV^th yeare of our Lord (according to the vulgar account) S. *John* wrote his Revelation; and in it, the Epiſtle directed by our Savior *to the Angel of the Church in Philadelphia.* No longer then twelve yeares after that time, *Ignatius* (S. *Johns* Schollar) writeth his Letters unto the ſame Church. In the beginning whereof, he giveth this teſtimony unto their *Biſhop*; that *he knew him to have beene promoted, not of himſelfe, nor by men, unto that miniſtery, pertaining to the publick weale of the Church*: which is every whit as much, as if he had called him their *Angel*. Afterwards he telleth them, that there is but [b]*one Biſhop*, joyned *with the Presbytery and the Deacons*: and that he delivered this, as the voyce of God; [c] *Take heed unto your Biſhop, and to the Presbytery and the Deacons.* [d] calling him to witneſſe, for whom he was bound (and for whom he went then unto his laſt martyrdome) that he had not this from humane fleſh (or from the mouth of man) but that the Spirit ſpake it. *Without the Biſhop doe nothing.* So that from S. *Johns* time, we have this continued ſucceſſion of witneſſes, in the age next following, for Epiſcopacy.

a ἔγνων ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, ἠξιώθη τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην εἰς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ ἐγχειρισθῆναι. Ignat. epiſt. ad Philadelph.

b εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. Ibid.

c Οὐκ ἐμὲς ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. Ibid. d Μάρτυς μοι, ὃν δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σώματος ἀνθρώπου (al. ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης) οὐκ ἔγνων· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησε [μοι,] λέγον τάδε. Χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. Id. ibid. cum Antiocho, Serm. 124.

In the yeare:

CVII. *Ignatius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*; where firſt they were called *Chriſtians.*

CXXX. *Hadrian* the Emperour, touching the Biſhops of *Egypt.*

CL. *Justin Martyr*, from *Samaria*.
CLXIX. The Church of *Smyrna*.
CLXXV. *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*.
CLXXX. *Hegesippus*, from *Judea*.
Irenæus, Bishop of *Lions*, neere unto us.
CXCV. *Tertullian*, from *Africk*.
Polycrates, Bishop of *Ephesus*.
CC. *Clemens*, Presbyter of *Alexandria*.

The Apoſtolicall Inſtitution of EPISCOPACY; deduced out of the premiſes, by *W. C.*

IF we abſtract from Epiſcopall government all accidentals, and conſider onely what is eſſentiall and neceſſary to it; we ſhall finde in it no more but this. An appointment of one man of eminent ſanctity and ſufficiency to have the care of all the Churches, within a certaine Precinct or Dioceſſe; and furniſhing him with authority, not abſolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by lawes, and moderated by joyning to him a convenient number of aſſiſtants. To the intent that all the Churches under him may be provided of good and able Paſtours: and that both of Paſtours and people conformity to lawes and performance of their duties may be required, under penalties, not left to diſcretion, but by law appointed.

To this kinde of government I am not by any particular intereſt ſo devoted, as to thinke it ought to be maintained, either in oppoſition to Apoſtolick inſtitution, or to the much deſired reformation of mens lives, and reſtauration of Primitive diſcipline, or to any law or precept of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: for that were to maintaine a meanes contrary to the end, for obedience to our Saviour is the end for which Church Government is appointed. But if it may be demonſtrated, or made much more probable then the contrary, as I verily thinke it may: I. That it is not repugnant to the

the government ſetled in and for the Church by the Apoſtles. II. That it is as complyable with the reformation of any evill which we deſire to reforme either in Church or State, or the introduction of any good which we deſire to introduce, as any other kind of government: And III. That there is no law, no record of our Saviour againſt it: then I hope it will not be thought an unreaſonable motion, if we humbly deſire thoſe that are in authority, eſpecially the High Court of Parliament, that it may not be ſacrificed to clamour, or overborne by violence: and though (which God forbid) the greater part of the multitude ſhould cry, *Crucifie, Crucifie*, yet our Governours would be ſo full of Juſtice and courage, as not to give it up untill they perfectly underſtand concerning Epiſcopacy it ſelfe, *Quid mali fecit.* I ſhall ſpeake at this time onely of the firſt of theſe three points: That Epiſcopacy is not repugnant to the government ſetled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apoſtles. Whereof I conceive this which followes as cleare a demonſtration, as any thing of this nature is capable of.

That this government was received univerſally in the Church, either in the Apoſtles time, or preſently after, is ſo evident and unqueſtionable, that the moſt learned adverſaries of this government do themſelves confeſſe it.

Petrus Molinæus in his booke *De munere paſtorali*, purpoſely written in defence of the Presbyteriall government, acknowledgeth: That preſently after the Apoſtles times, or even in their time (as Eccleſiaſticall ſtory witneſſeth) it was ordained, That in every Citie one of the Presbytery ſhould be called a Biſhop, who ſhould have preeminence over his Colleagues; to avoid confuſion which oft times ariſeth out of equality. And truely this forme of government all Churches every where received.

Theodorus Beza in his Tract *De triplici Epiſcopatus genere*, confeſſeth in effect the ſame thing. For having diſtinguiſhed Epiſcopacy into three kinds, *Divine*, *Humane*, and *Satanicall*, and attributing to the ſecond (which he calls *Humane*, but we maintaine and conceive to be *Apoſtolicall*) not onely a priority

priority of order, but a ſuperiority of power, and authority over other Presbyters, bounded yet by lawes and canons provided againſt Tyranny: he clearely profeſſeth, that of this kind of Epiſcopacy is to be underſtood whatſoever we read concerning the authority of Biſhops or Preſidents (as *Juſtin Martyr* calls them) in *Ignatius*, and other more ancient Writers.

Certainely from * theſe two great defenders of the Presbytery we ſhould never had this free acknowledgement, ſo prejudiciall to their owne pretence, and ſo advantageous to their adverſaries purpoſe, had not the evidence of cleare and undeniable truth enforced them to it. It will not therefore be neceſſary to ſpend any time in confuting that uningenuous aſſertion of the Anonymus Authour of the Catalogue of Teſtimonies for the equality of Biſhops and Presbyters, who affirmes, That their diſparity began long after the Apoſtles times: But we may ſafely take for granted that which theſe two learned Adverſaries have confeſſed; and ſee, whether upon this foundation layed by them, we may not by unanſwerable reaſon raiſe this ſuperſtruction.

"That ſeeing Epiſcopall Government is confeſſedly ſo an-
"cient and ſo Catholique, it cannot with reaſon be denyed to
"be Apoſtolique.

For ſo great a change, as betweene Presbyteriall Government and Epiſcopall, could not poſſibly have prevailed all the world over, in a little time. Had Epiſcopall Government beene an aberration from, or a corruption of the Government left in the Churches by the Apoſtles, it had beene very ſtrange, that it ſhould have beene received in any one Church ſo ſuddainly, or that it ſhould have prevailed in all for many Ages after. *Variâſſe debuerat error Eccleſiarum: quod autem apud omnes unum eſt, non eſt erratum, ſed traditum.* Had the Churches err'd, they would have varied. What therefore is one and the ſame amongſt all, came not ſure by errour, but tradition. Thus *Tertullian* argues very probably from the conſent of the Churches of his time, not long after

* To whom two others alſo from *Geneva* may be added: *Daniel Chamierus* (in Panſtratia, tom. 2. lib. 10. cap. 6. §. 24) and *Nicol. Vedelius* (Exercitat. 3. in epiſt. Ignatii ad Philadelph. cap. 14. & Exercit. 8. in epiſt. ad Mariam, cap. 3.) which is fully alſo demonſtrated, in the former Treatiſe, by the teſtimonies of thoſe who wrote in the very next age after the Apoſtles.

after the Apoſtles, and that in matter of opinion much more ſubject to unobſerv'd alteration. But that in the frame and ſubſtance of the neceſſary government of the Church, a thing alwayes in uſe and practice, there ſhould be ſo ſuddaine a change as preſently after the Apoſtles times, and ſo univerſall, as received in all the Churches, this is clearely impoſſible.

For what univerſall cauſe can be aſſigned or fained of this univerſall Apoſtaſie? you will not imagine that the Apoſtles, all or any of them, made any decree for this change, when they were living; or left order for it in any Will or Teſtament, when they were dying. This were to grant the queſtion. To wit, that the Apoſtles, being to leave the government of the Churches themſelves, and either ſeeing by experience, or fore-ſeeing by the Spirit of God, the diſtractions and diſorders which would ariſe from a multitude of equalls, ſubſtituted Epiſcopall government inſtead of their owne. Generall Councells to make a Law for a generall change, for many ages there was none. There was no Chriſtian Emperour, no coërcive power over the Church to enforce it. Or if there had beene any, we know no force was equall to the courage of the Chriſtians of thoſe times. Their lives were then at command (for they had not then learn't to fight for Chriſt) but their obedience to any thing againſt his law was not to be commanded (for they had perfectly learn't to dye for him.) Therefore there was no power then to command this change; or if there had beene any, it had beene in vaine.

What deviſe then ſhall we ſtudy, or to what fountaine ſhall we reduce this ſtrange pretended alteration? Can it enter into our hearts to thinke, that all the Presbyters and other Chriſtians then, being the Apoſtles ſchollers, could be generally ignorant of the will of Chriſt, touching the neceſſity of a Presbyteriall government? Or dare we adventure to thinke them ſo ſtrangely wicked all the world over, as againſt knowledge and conſcience to conſpire againſt it? Imagine the ſpirit of *Diotrephes* had entered into ſome or a great many of the Presbyters, and poſſeſſed them with an ambitious deſire

of

of a forbidden ſuperiority, was it poſſible they ſhould attempt and atchieve it once without any oppoſition, or contradiction? and beſides that the contagion of this ambition ſhould ſpread it ſelfe and prevaile without ſtop or controule, nay, without any noyſe or notice taken of it, through all the Churches in the world; all the watchmen in the meane time being ſo faſt aſleepe, and all the dogges ſo dumbe, that not ſo much as one ſhould open his mouth againſt it? But let me ſuppoſe (though it be a horrible untruth) that the Presbyters and people then were not ſo good Chriſtians as the Presbyters are now, that they were generally ſo negligent to retaine the government of Chriſts Church commanded by Chriſt, which we now are ſo zealous to reſtore: yet certainly we muſt not forget nor deny that they were men as we are. And if we looke upon them but as meere naturall men, yet knowing by experience how hard a thing it is even for policy arm'd with power by many attempts and contrivances, and in a long time to gaine upon the liberty of any one people, undoubtedly we ſhall never entertaine ſo wild an imagination, as that among all the Chriſtian Presbyteries in the world, neither conſcience of duty, nor love of liberty, nor averſeneſſe from pride and uſurpation of others over them, ſhould prevaile ſo much as with any one, to oppoſe this pretended univerſall invaſion of the Kingdome of Chriſt and the liberty of Chriſtians.

When I ſhall ſee therefore all the Fables in the *Metamorphoſis* acted and prove ſtories; when I ſhall ſee all the Democraties and Ariſtocraties in the world lye downe and ſleep, and awake into Monarchies: then will I begin to believe that Presbyteriall government, having continued in the Church during the Apoſtles times, ſhould preſently after, againſt the Apoſtles doctrine and the will of Chriſt, be whirl'd about like a ſcene in a maſque, and transformed into Epiſcopacy. In the meane time, while theſe things remaine thus incredible, and in humane reaſon impoſſible; I hope I ſhall have leave to conclude thus. Epiſcopall government is acknowledged

ledged to have beene universally received in the Church, presently after the Apostles times. Betweene the Apostles times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of so great an alteration. And therefore there was no such alteration as is pretended. And therefore Episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and Catholique, must be granted also to be Apostolique. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

FINIS.

S E

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At the Join

PETER

Minister

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Salvat

Printed by

A SERMON

Preached before

THE HONORABLE HOVSE OF COMMONS,

At their Monethly Fast, *May* 29. 1644.

BY

PETER SMITH Doctor of Divinitie, Minister of Gods Word at *Barkway* in *Hertfordshire*, and one of the Assembly of Divines.

Salvation is of the Lord. Psal. 3. 8. Ionah 2. 9.

LONDON,
Printed by *I. L.* for *Christopher Meredith*, at the sign of the *Crane* in Pauls Church-yard. 1644.

Die Mercurii 29 Maii. 1644.

IT is this day Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That Master *Rous* doe from this Houſe give thanks unto Doctor *Smith*, for the great paines hee tooke in the Sermon hee preached this day at the intreaty of this Houſe at S. *Margarets* in the City of *Weſtminſter*, (it being the day of publique Humiliation,) and to deſire him to Print his Sermon. And it is Ordered that none preſume to Print his Sermon, but ſuch as ſhall bee authoriſed under his hand writing.

H. Elſyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I Appoint CHRISTOPHER MARRIOTH to print my Sermon.

PETER SMITH.

TO THE HONOVRABLE House of Commons assembled in PARLIAMENT.

THere is to me nothing more imperious then the request of that Authoritie, which might enforce, and unto which this whole Kingdome oweth so much of thankfulnesse and dutie. By such your Command, this Sermon is made publike, which by the same was preached in your honourable audience. I know it will now want that little life it seem'd to have when it was uttered viva voce, *and entertained with your cheerfull and religious attention.*

I am not of his minde that said, [a] *Things move more dully by the ear then by the eye; nor doth that reason sway me that another gives,* [b] The eye seeth by direct lines, but the ear

[a] *Segnius irritant animos dimissa per aures, Quam quæ sunt oculis commissa*— Hor. de Art. Poet.

[b] Ἡ μὲν ὄψις κατ' εὐθείας γραμμὰς ὁρᾷ, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ περιφερόμενον. Damas. Orth. Fid. lib. 2. c. 18.

ear takes in things (*after a more ſquandring manner*) every way. *That which the Philoſopher ſaith of knowledge, the Apoſtle ſaith of* faith, It comes by hearing, *Rom.* 10. 17. *I confeſſe, memory is fraile; and to reflect again, by reading, upon that* w^ch *we have heard, may conduce much unto the improvement of our knowledge in ſuch things as wee deſire to put in practice. This I preſume is your deſire*[c], *and I pray God the ſame may be in all, whoſe eyes may now reach that which their ears could not before. The Text it ſelfe holds forth the practice of the Saints of God of old, in all their troubles; which patterne if we follow faithfully, God in his good time will ſo bleſſe your moſt unwearied travails for the publike ſafetie, that wee ſhall ſee his great deliverance wrought by your hands, according to the poore weak prayers of*

c Λόγον ἀκύσας ὠφελῆσαι βιωφέλιμον, μὴ μόνον ἀκοῇ τεῦξον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράξει διαδέχου. Agapet. parænes. ad Juſtinian. 57

Your obliged ſervant in the Lord,

PETER SMITH.

A SERMON PREACHED at the late Faſt, before the Honourable Houſe of Commons, *May* 29. 1644.

PSAL. 107. 6.

Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble: and he delivered them out of their diſtreſſes.

THis Pſalme (as ſome interpreters conceive) is in this order, for the matters ſake, annex'd to thoſe that go immediately before it; they all declaring the mightie acts of God, wrought for the deliverance of his people out of *trouble* and *diſtreſſes*.

Yet, after the *Originall*, it ſeemes cut off from thoſe other, it being the beginning of the laſt Section of this ſacred book, called in the *Hebrew*, *The fifth book* of Pſalmes.

And to me there appeares no little difference betwixt this, and the two next preceding: they tell forth the works of God, done for *the ſeed of Abraham*, &c. *Pſal.* 105. 6. This not

not for the *Iews* alone, but for both *Iew* and *Gentile*, all *the redeemed of the Lord*, [a] from all the foure quarters of the world; as *verſ.* 2. and 3. of this Pſalme.

And it not onely differeth in the extent of the ſubject, but in the curious compoſure of it, there being in this two verſes artificially *interpoſed*, and *interchangeably* foure times repeated, which (though they have more elegant and apt [b] names in the learned tongues) in our vulgar ſpeech we call, *the Burthen of the ſong.*

And truly, I conceive, there is much weight in them. the Pſalmiſt reckons up divers particular dangers of Gods people, with their deliverances; and in the cloſe of every of theſe, we find expreſſed, firſt, the way which they take, for the obtaining of the mercy, as in this *verſe*, and likewiſe, *verſ.* 13. 19. 28. *Then they cried unto the Lord*, &c. And ſecondly, the return they make in thanks, for the mercy ſo obtained, as *verſ.* 8. 15. 22. and 31. in theſe words, *O that men would praiſe the Lord for his goodneſſe; and for his wonderfull works to the children of men.*

From theſe two verſes thus foure times repeated, with reference unto ſeverall dangers, and deliverances of the Church of God, briefly I may collect theſe three *Obſervations.*

Obſer. 1. First I obſerve, that all the ſaints on earth are ſubject unto [c] changes, and varietie of condition, and no man knoweth, *what ſhall be on the morrow, Iam.* 4. 14. One while they are crying out, being in trouble and diſtreſſes; *Then they cried*, &c. Anon they are ſinging to the praiſe of God, *O that men would praiſe*, &c.

Take but a ſhort view of this viciſſitude of eſtates, [d] in the firſt family, which herein may well be thought an exact type of all ſucceeding generations. *Man being in honour (non pernoctavit) lodged not one night* in it; but yet as he fell ſuddenly, ſo he was ſoon refreſhed, with that ſweet promiſe of the *Seed of the woman, that ſhould bruiſe the ſerpents head.* Again, God gave him comfort in his two ſonnes, that were born unto him; but the next newes we heare of them, [e] one envieth

a Οὐδὲν μίσος τὸ θεῖας λυτρώσεως ἄμοιρον, Gr. Nyſſ.

b *Verſus intercalares, ſive ἐμβολιμαῖοι.*

c Ὡς ἡμέρας ἡλίου ἡ κάτοχος πόλις Ἄπιστα τ' ἀνθρώπων πράγματα. Sophocl.

d *A primo mundi ortu uſque in hoc tempus perduxit nos ex ſplendidis ſordidiſque alternata ſeries.* Senec. Epiſt. 44.

e Ὁ φθόνος καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ πρώτου ἐγένετο. Baſil. Sel. de Cain & Abel.

envieth the other, drew him aſide, and killed him; and *Adams* joy was now eclipſed: But preſently the light breaks forth again, and this loſſe is repaired in a third ſonne given unto him, in whoſe poſteritie the Church was propagated, *Gen.*4.26.

And yet again the ſtory plainly ſheweth, how this generation was perſecuted by the [f] brood of *Cain*, untill the whole earth was ſo polluted, that [g] it had need of a deluge of waters to waſh the face thereof, as in the dayes of *Noah*. *The thing that hath been, it is that which ſhall be*, Eccleſ. 1. 9. and experience tels us, that there is nothing certaine, and permanent in the life we live here in the body: but we are even as ſhips at ſea [h]; which in a calme are ſafe; but the windes riſe ſuddenly [i], and the waves roare, and unexpectedly they are ſwallowed up.

I ſhall not need to give you reaſons of it; *ſic Deo placuit*, God in his providence will have it ſo: farre be it from us, to think with the *Epicures*, that God [k] regardeth not the things of men below, eſpecially of his *Redeemed*; but let us ſubmit to his divine will and wiſdome, and learn from hence theſe ſhort inſtructions.

First, Is our eſtate here ſo dubious and variable [l] then in dayes proſperous, let us provide for evill times, that we may ſay (when ſuch things come upon us) as *Iob* ſometime did: *The thing I greatly feared* (or, greatly expected) *is come upon me*, Iob 3. 25. which feare or expectation doubtleſſe was a preparative unto his patience, as knowing that *riches have wings, and flie away*; and for his children, he could ſay better then that heathen man; [l] *I know that I begat them mortall*, ſubject to death, naturall, or violent, as it pleaſeth God; and with a better ſpirit, (to uſe his own ſweet expreſſions) *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taked away: bleſſed be the name of the Lord*, Chap. 1. 21. Our earthly buildings are not founded upon the rocks; we dwell *in houſes of clay, whoſe foundation is in the duſt*. Iob 4. 19. Or like thoſe houſes which [m] little children make up of ſand, and when they have done, pull them down again. And as *Hiram* ſaid to *Solomon*:

f Ἐκφανὴς πάσχουσι κακοῦργοι. Adag. Ἄλλῳ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ κῆδος ἀνίσσει θεός, *Lycophr. Caſſ.*

g Τότε φθορὰ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λοιμὸς ἐμψύχους, καὶ κατακλυσμὸς ὕδατος ἐπὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπων. *Baſil. Sel. Hiſt. Nov.*

h τὸν βίον ἅπαντα ὁμοίως σκάφεσιν, *Theocr.*

i *Mancuſo tempeſtas mare everſitur, & eodem die, ubi luſerunt, navigia ſorbentur. &c.*

k Οὐ μέλει τῷ θεῷ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. *Epic. apud Plut.*

Uſe 1.

l Οἶδα ὅτι θνητὸς ἐγέννησα. *Apud Plut.*

m Ἀλλὰ παιδιαὶ ἀθύρματα παιδίων, πρὸς ὀλίγον παιζόντων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀλίγον παιζόντων καὶ λυόντων. *Zach. Schol. Diſput. Contr. Philoſ.*

What are theſe cities, which thou haſt given me, my brother? And he called them the land of Cabul unto this day. That is, (as the word ſignifieth) *dirt*, or *mire*. Such, and ſo frail, are all our poſſeſſions here.

Uſe. 2. Secondly, let us be hence inſtructed, even in the moſt calamitous times, * not to be too much dejected: Our caſe in theſe ſad dayes, is not unlike theirs, in the reign of *Aſa*; *When there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in*, but great *vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countreys*, 2 Chron. 15.5. And we may ſay, as *Iob* ſometime did; *God hath delivered me to the ungodly, and turn'd me over to the hands of the wicked. I was at eaſe, but he hath broken me aſunder: he hath alſo taken me by the necke, and ſhaken me to pieces, and ſet me up for his marke. His archers compaſſe me round about*, &c. *Iob* 16.11,12,13, &c. We have a warre amongſt us, and that which is the worſt of warres, [n] a waſting, and deſtroying, civill, inteſtine warre, [o] a warre whereof there comes no triumphs, ſuch as do follow others, that are againſt a forein enemy; but even the [p] conquerors with the conquered may have cauſe to ſit down at laſt in teares.

But ſhall we therefore caſt off our hope in God, who creates warre, and maketh peace, and ruleth all things after his own will? or ſhall we ſay, as *Livy*, in the like caſe; If now a ſtranger ſhould come in upon us [q], heaven and ſalvation it ſelfe could not ſave us? God forbid. We may loſe all we have on earth, even our life and all; but God will be no loſer, whoſe cauſe we manage; and with him we ſhall be gainers at the laſt. [r] Righteous *Abel dedicated the Church in his blood*, ſaith *Ambroſe*, and by the drops of it we may ſee the way to heaven. And he will make his enemies to know, [s] what it is to fight againſt the Lord. And *when he maketh inquiſition for blood, he will remember them. And they ſhall flie to the pit, and none ſhall reſcue them*, Prov. 28.17.

Uſe. 3. Thirdly, and laſtly, learn we from hence, to fit our ſelves for any ſtate of life; and to ſay with the Apoſtle *Paul*, *I have learned*

* Θαρσεῖν χὴ φίλε Βάτι τὴν αὐριον. Theocr. Idyl. 4.

n *Cum bello civili res agentur, periclitabit tunc patria, & in anceps caſus, certumque urbis excidium concidet repente.* Cato. in Cic. Reſp. 2.

o *Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos.*

p *Et victi & victores in lacrymas fuſi.* Tacit.

q *Vix ope deorum omnium res ſiſti potuiſſet.*

r *Iuſtus Abel eccleſiam ſanguine dedicavit.* Ambr. de Cain & Abel.

ſ Πάμα γὰ ἰόντες ἐς δίκην θεῶν Δείματα φωὴ μελήσειαν Car. Rhod. per Hom. 17.

learned in whatſoever ſtate I am, therewith to be content, Phil. 4.11. How ſhamefull is it for us, to fall ſhort of *Eſau*, in this dutie, who could ſay unto his brother *Jacob*; *I have* * *enough?* Gen. 33.9. Where is the man that hath attained to this degree of contentednesſe? And yet, hear I beſeech you, how far *Jacob* hath outſtrip'd him, when he replied to *Eſau*; *God hath dealt graciouſly with me*; *and I have* * *all.* For ſo the word ſignifieth in the Originall, and differeth from the word uſed in *Eſau's* ſpeech, though both alike tranſlated in our books. We loſe much inward peace and comfort, that we might enjoy, even in this uncertain pilgrimage of ours, for want of this rich grace of contentation. *Adam* could not be happy in Paradiſe, no nor *Lucifer* in heaven, when not contented. We muſt have what we would have, [t] though it be a mercy to us ſometimes to be denied. I wiſh we could learn even of that heathen man, to order our requeſts we make to God: whoſe ſuit was; [u] *That the Lord would give him what he knew good for him, though not asked; and keepe evil from him, though deſired.* To conclude, amidſt all theſe mutations, and alterations, let it be our onely care, to caſt our care upon God, who careth for us: and *be content with ſuch things as ye have: for he hath ſaid, I will never leave thee, nor forſake thee*, Heb.13.5. The words in the * *Greeke*, are much more vigorous; there being five negatives to intend the ſenſe: as if he had ſaid; I will not leave thee, no I will not: I will not leave thee, nor forſake thee.

* רב *multum*

* כל *omne*

t Εστι γὰρ ὅτε τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν λυσιτελέστερον. *Chryſ. hom. 2. de Orat.*

u Ζεῦ τὰ μὴ ἰούλα δὸς, &c.

* οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω.

A ſecond obſervation from theſe viciſſitudes of *prayer* and *praiſe*, preſt in the two verſes ſo often here reiterated, may be this:

Obſerv. 2.

That God hath ſo diverſified his wayes of ſeeking him, that they may ſuit with the diverſity of his wayes and dealings with us; and hath put words into our mouthes, wherewith we may come before him in all occaſions and occurrences of our life. *Is any among you afflicted? let him pray: is any merry? let him ſing Pſalms. Iam.*5.13. And yet, I think, without offence a man may ſay, Afflicted, or not afflicted, let us pray; Merry, or not merry, let us ſing Pſalmes. And

x Ψαλμωδίας καὶ προσευχὰς πᾶς καιρὸς ἐπιτηδείους ἔχει. *Basil. Magn.*

I beleeve it was not ſaid amiſſe by that great Divine,[x] Singing and praying are in every ſeaſon ſeaſonable. But when we have ſaid all we can, we muſt acknowledge, that for every work there is an appointed time, and every thing is moſt pleaſant and beautifull in the fitteſt ſeaſon of it. There is a time to mourn, and a time to rejoyce. *How ſhall we ſing the Lords ſong in a ſtrange land? Pſal.* 137. 4. If *Daniel* could not ſing the Lords ſong in that captivity, there ſpoken of; *Daniel*, I am ſure, could pray unto the Lord then, and that moſt fervently: *Dan.* 9. 4, &c.

y Μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι μὴ ἐνδοῦναι, ἢ στερηθῆναι τῆς συνουσίας. *Chryſ. de Orat. hom.* 1.

[y] Nay, he choſe rather to die, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, then to be deprived of the uſe of this holy Ordinance. This Pſalme hath taught us how to addreſſe our ſelves to God, according to his minde, and our neceſſities and occaſions, at all times, and in every ſeaſon: when we are in trouble, to crie to God, as in the Text; and when delivered, to call upon our ſelves and others, as in verſ. 8. *O that men would praiſe the Lord, &c.*

Vſe 1. 1. The uſe of this point may be, firſt for exhortation, and to excite us to bleſſe our gracious God, who hath not onely given us leave to approach into his preſence with our worthleſſe ſacrifices of prayer and praiſe, but hath been pleaſed to direct us how to honour him, how to ſeek his face. That one place, *Pſal.* 50. 15. may ſerve our turn, added to what you finde here in this Pſalme, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee*; and what then requires he of us? *and thou ſhalt glorifie me.* And,

2. Secondly, let us here be inſtructed, to be acquainted with theſe wayes of God, and to be ready to turn our ſelves to him, as he ſhall turn or change his hand to us,[z] active in every holy duty. God hath directed us, and all for our good. We may juſtly fail of our deſires, if we fail in theſe performances, eſpecially being ſo exactly taught, and that by ſuch a teacher.

z Πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιτηδειότητα. *Clem. Alex.*

Obſerv. 3. 3. There is yet one Obſervation more which I would offer to you, and that very briefly, touching the two verſes here ſo oft recited.

It ſeems all repetitions, even in prayers as well as praiſes,

ſes, are not condemned, nor will fall under that prohibition of our Saviour, *Matth. 6.7. But when you pray, uſe not vain repetitions, as the Heathen doe.* There are repetitions which are not accounted vain. Blinde *Bartimeus* cries after our Lord Chriſt, and again in the ſame words, *Thou Son of David have mercy on me, Luke* 18. 38, 39. Yea, and our Lord himſelf, *in the dayes of his fleſh, when he offered up prayers and ſupplications, with ſtrong crying and teares, unto him that was able to ſave him from death, and was heard in that he feared, Hebr.* 5.7. even then, as appeareth in the Goſpel, he prayed once and again, and *a third time*, * *ſaying the ſame words. Matth.* 26. 44.

* τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπών.

Vſe.

This ſerves to comfort ſuch as are of weakeſt abilities, to expreſſe themſelves in prayer; God lookes not after elegancy, or variety of words or phraſes, when thou comeſt *to powre out thy ſoul before the Lord*, in ſome requeſt thou haſt to make unto him, reſolving *not to let him go untill he bleſſe thee*, though asking the ſame thing, thou art enforced to uſe the ſame words often, but with renewed breathings of the Spirit, thy prayer ſhall be as well accepted as if with much variety of language thou wert able to ſet forth thy ſuite to God. Vain bablings, ſuch as are found in formall Liturgies, (had ſuch ſuperſtitious veneration of too many, and called *The Divine ſervice*, either for the excellent divinity thought to be in them, or that the Divine Majeſty is beſt worſhipped by them) ſuch I ſay juſtly may be ranked with the follies of the Heathen; as when the Miniſter (whoſe Office it is, to be the peoples mouth to God, in publike) ſhall onely propound things to be prayed for, and then the people twenty times ſhall ſay, *We beſeech thee to hear us, &c. we beſeech thee to hear us, &c.* onely out of formality, and without devotion, as we know it hath been practiſed. *God is a Spirit*, and as he heareth without ears, ſo he looketh not much after thy tongue, or words, whether plaine or poliſhed, whether the ſame, or varied; [a] it is the heart, the minde, the ſpirit, that he requireth, both in prayers and praiſes.

a Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος φωνῆς χειλέων, ἀλλὰ διανοίας, &c. *Chryſoſt.* Δεῖ ἡμᾶς μὴ κατὰ τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀκροατὴν, μηδὲ κρατεῖσθαι ἰδέᾳ — περισύλλογον, ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς ἐπαλείφειν τῇ νῷ περιέχεσθαι τοῦ δόκησιν. Θεοῦ. *Macar. Hom.* 33

I fear I have detained you over long in theſe few obſerva-

tions,

tions, I come up now more cloſely to the Text it ſelf, *Then they cried*, &c.

In theſe words we finde three things remarkable; firſt, τῷ θλίβω τῆ ἐκκλησίας, the condition of Gods Church and people, *trouble and diſtreſſes.* Secondly, τῷ κράξαι, the practiſe and the exerciſe of Gods people in this ſtate; *Then they cried unto the Lord.* Thirdly, τῷ ἐσωσεν, their ſucceſſe, and the good iſſue of this practiſe, *And he delivered them*, &c.

1. In the firſt place touching the condition of Gods Church, you may obſerve:

Doctr. 1. *That the condition of the Church, or its moſt uſuall lot, is to lie under ſorrows and afflictions.*

I ſay, moſt uſuall: *For I will not* (ſaith God) *contend for ever, neither will I be alwayes wroth: for the ſpirit ſhould faile before me, and the ſouls which I have made: Iſa.* 57.16. But as we ſay of the ſeverall Callings and Trades of life, this man profeſſeth ſuch a Calling, and that man another; and as the Poet ſaid of *Hermogenes*, [b] Though he hold his peace, (peradventure being aſleep) yet hee's a good ſinger, and a Muſician by profeſſion: ſo ſay I of the people of God, their trade of life is ſuffering; and as *Iulian* told the Chriſtians, when they complained of his cruelty, [c] *'Tis your profeſſion to endure tribulation.* Though they may have ſome ſhort refreſhings now and then, and [d] ſome fair dayes, though ſuch commonly prove, but (as we ſay) weather-breeders.

b *Et quamvis tacet Hermogenes Cantor tamen----*

c Τυπτεσθαι τὸ χριστιανεῖν.

d Χ' ὁ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πίλει ἄθες, ἄλλοκα δ' ὖει. *Theocr.*

This truth appeareth from all Stories of the Church. Should I begin where even now I left, at *Noah*; ſhould I recount the lives of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioſeph*, and all their poſterity; *Ægypts* captivity, and their long travails in the wilderneſſe; ſhould I remember but the ſufferings of our primitive Martyrs ſince the Goſpel, and of later times, you would require no other proof of what I ſaid, touching the uſuall portion of the Saints in this pilgrimage. *As the lilie among thornes, ſo is my love among the daughters*, *Cantic.* 2.2. *The World hates you*, ſaith our Saviour; and again, *In the world you ſhall have trouble*, *Iohn* 15.19. & 16.33. and

and he gives this reaſon, becauſe *you are not of the World*; you are ſtrangers here, and every dogge will bark at Strangers. But that's not all, God is not ſo regardleſſe of his people, not an hair fals from the head of one of them, but by his providence; and [d] what can he loſe that cannot loſe an hair, &c?

d *Quid illi pereat, cui capillus non, &c.*

The word affords us many arguments, ſome with reference to *grace*, ſome to *glory*, ſhewing the grounds of this, Gods diſpenſation towards his own.

1. From *grace*, we have theſe reaſons.

1. There is ſomething of * *Adam's* filth, even in the pureſt, which muſt be waſh't out with theſe waters of *Marah*. *By this therefore ſhall the iniquitie of Iacob be purged*, and this is all the fruit, *to take away his ſinne. Iſa.* 27.9. In that mighty tempeſt (*Ionah* 1.4,7.) the Mariners make enquiry, after their way, *for whoſe cauſe this evill was upon them:* and when it ſhall be told, as by the Apoſtle to the Corinthians, 1 *epiſt.* 11.30. *For this cauſe many are weake and ſickly among you, and many fall aſleep:* it will make men look about them, and begin to think it's time *to iudge themſelves that they be not iudged*, Verſ. 31. to ſearch into their wayes, and to repent.

* πλῶ τῶ Ἀδὰμ.

e *Læsus animus facile lapſum incurrit, quod triſti & afflicto difficile evenit. Arnob. in loc.*

Secondly, affliction ſometime is intended for prevention of ſinne. [e] Men are apt to offend in dayes of mirth, who are ſoon checked in times of ſorrow. *Iob* feared his children, that they might ſinne in their dayes of feaſting, Chap. 1.5. and *David* found by ſad experience in himſelf; *Before I was afflicted I went wrong.* [f] *Paul* was wrapt up into the third heavens, but he muſt down again; and then, [g] *leſt he ſhould be exalted above meaſure, through the abundance of the revelations, a thorn in the fleſh is given him, the meſſenger of Satan to buffet him.* 2 *Corinth.* 12.17. that he may learn *to glory in tribulations*, *Rom.* 5.3. For (as *Clemangius* ſaith) though there be bitterneſſe in the rods, by which we are corrected of God, yet there is much more bitterneſſe in the ſinnes, by which we are ſeparated from God. And therefore, *when we are iudged, we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould*

f Ἴνα μὴ ὑπερ-αίρωμαι τῆ ὑπερβολῆ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἐνεργῆ. *Cyrill. Alex.*

g *Amara eſt amaritudo flagellorum, quibus à Deo corripimur; ſed amarior eſt amaritudo peccatorum, quibus à Deo ſeiaramur. Clem.*

not be condemned with the world. 1 Corinth. 11. 32.

h Καταδιάζεται πως τοῖς ἐξ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔμετον. *Cyr. Alex.*

Thirdly, trouble and diſtreſſes [h] drive men to good, force men to God; ſickneſſe, lameneſſe, blindneſſe, &c. brought many unto Chriſt, who otherwiſe had never ſought him; and theſe ſeeking cure for bodily infirmities, found preſent remedy alſo for the maladies of the ſoul: what elſe meant our Saviour by that ſpeech, *Thy faith hath ſaved thee? σέσωκέ σε? ſanum te fecit? non ſalvum te fecit*, hath made thee whole? no, hath brought ſalvation to thee. It's ſaid by *Baſil* of *Seleucia*, concerning the *Centurion* who came to Chriſt, in the behalf of his ſervant whoſe ſickneſſe was his ſorrow; [i] *The ſickneſſe of the ſervant was the Maſters health; The ſervant was ſicke in body, and the Maſter ſanctified in ſoul:* And that Nobleman or Courtier, of whom we read, *Iohn* 4. went to Chriſt for his ſon; and the iſſue of that bleſſed journey was, *himſelfe beleeved and his whole houſe, verſ.* 53. Theſe, and ſuch ſouls afflicted, might after truely ſay with *Themiſtocles* unto his children; [k] *O children, we had been loſt* utterly, *had we not been loſt.*

i Ἡ τοῦ οἰκέτου νόσος ἡ τοῦ κέντρου διέφθειρε δεσπότου ὑγίειαν πρόξενος. Ὁ μὲν δοῦλος τὸ σῶμα νοσεῖ, ὁ δὲ δεσπότης τῆς ψυχῆς διαζεῖται. *Orat. in Centu.*

k Ὦ παῖδες ἀπολούμεθα, εἰ μὴ ἀπολώμεθα. *Plut. in vita Themiſt.*

Fourthly, the Lord by theſe trieth the ſpirits of men; God led his people in the wilderneſſe forty yeares, to prove them, *Deut.* 8. 2. *Tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, Rom.* 4. 3, 4. Courage [l] decayeth (ſaith *Seneca*) without an adverſary; then it appears how great it is, when patience ſheweth what it can do. The valour and proweſſe of a ſouldier is ſeen in the battell; it is not bigge looks, or great words will do it, but his grapling with an enemy: *If thou faint in the day of adverſity, thy ſtrength is ſmall, Prov.* 24. 10. [m] *Strength is tried* in weakneſſe, when thou lyeſt upon thy bed, when ſickneſſe is upon thee, and when thou art put to the uſe of all thy graces, as faith, hope, patience, and the like.

l *Marcet ſine adverſario virtus; tunc apparet quanta ſit, cum quid poſſit patientia oſtendit. Sen. de provid.*

m *Exhibetur & in lectulo virtus. Sen.*

Fifthly, graces are much encreaſed by theſe trials, ſuch as theſe I named before. [n] It proveth the moſt ſolid part of the body which is moſt uſed, moſt in exerciſe. It was not ſaid amiſſe of one, *He* [o] *that knoweth not how to pray, let him go to ſea*; eſpecially if that be true which I finde in that Hea-

n *Solidiſſima pars eſt corporis, quam frequens uſus agitavit. Sen.*

o *Qui neſcit orare, diſcat navigare.* Ὁ μὴ πιστεύσας λάβοι ἐφόδιον καὶ πλεύσειε. *Athen. & Poſid.*

then

then Writer, *He that never ſailed, never ſaw ill. They that go down to the Sea in ſhips: that do buſineſſe in great waters: Theſe ſee the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe. For he commandeth, and raiſeth the ſtormy winde: &c. Then they crie unto the Lord in their trouble, &c. Verſ.* 23, 24, 28. of this Pſalme. And as afflictions abound, where grace is once begun, there grace abounds. Our calamities are very great in this our diſtreſſed, diſtracted kingdome; and when was there ſuch a willing people to ſpend and to be ſpent in Gods cauſe? when was there ſuch a ſpirit of prayer? Obleſſed fruits of our afflictions!

Secondly, the Lord intends to work glory to himſelf, and to his *Redeemed Ones*, from theſe diſtreſſes. *Out of the eater came meat*, according to *Samſons* Riddle, *Judg* 14.14. And for this cauſe theſe times are brought upon us.

1. Glory to himſelfe.

1. For firſt he juſtifieth the power of his grace againſt our adverſary the Devil; as in the caſe of *Iob* moſt evidently. *There was a day when the ſons of God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came alſo among them, Iob* 1.6. *Satan*, that accuſer of the brethren, who came, no doubt, upon ſome ſuch errand at that time: who, when the Lord, glorying in the integritie of that ſervant, ſaid, *That there was none like him in the earth; a perfect and an upright man*, *Verſ.* 8. replieth, *Doth Iob feare God for nought? Verſ.* 9. *Haſt thou not made an hedge about him? Verſ.* 10. Haſt thou not been a good Maſter to him? *But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curſe thee to thy face. Verſ.* 11. And when the Lord was pleaſed to deliver all he had into his power, and ſuffered him to ſtrip him of all that might be comfortable unto him: and afterward enlarged his Commiſſion, and gave him leave to ſmite his body *with ſore Biles from the ſole of the foot, unto his crown, Chap.* 2.7. even then the Devill found, to his confuſion, and Gods glory, [p] that when *Iob* lay upon the dunghill, who was wont to lie under his coverings of Purple and Scarlet; that he was not a mercenary, but an ingenuous and free ſervant of God.

[p] *Iacet in ſterquilinio, cui prius ſomnum capere licebat in purpura: ut liquido conſtet, eum Dei gratuitum, non mercenarium eſſe cultorem. Aug. tract. in Ioh.*

So that God in this respect will gain glory to himself from the sad sufferings of his Saints.

2. It manifestly appeareth, that saints are added to the church daily, and so great honour unto God, by the examples of the patient sufferings of his faithfull Martyrs. *Take, my brethren, the prophets for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience, &c. Iam. 5.10. For if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God: For even hereunto were ye called. Because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps. 1 Pet. 2.20,21.* Thus the people followed to see the Martyrdome of that glorious Martyr *Cyprian*, and considering his constancy, cried out,[q] *Let us also die with our holy Pastour:* and *Justin Martyr* affirmeth of himself, that he being trained up in the Schools of *Plato's* Philosophy, applyed himself to the knowledge of Christ.[r] by seeing the patience, even to the shedding of their bloud, in the Christians in that age. And *Theodoret* sheweth how in this case it was, as in the felling of woods; There are many more shoots spring forth, then there are trees cut down------[s], and the bloud of those that are cut down, is but as a watering to those young ones that shoot forth. Thus some are put to it, to[t] endure heavy things, that they may teach others to endure the like.

Thirdly, the Lord is pleased to dispose so of his servants, that when they are sunk deep in sorrows, he may exalt the glory and Majestie of his power, in drawing them out of the pit[u]: He casts them into extremities, that he might save them out of such doubtfull dangers. The blinde man in the Gospell, to whom our Saviour gave sight, was so borne, to that end, *that the works of God might be manifested in him, John 9.3.* He suffered *Lazarus* to lie four dayes dead, *John 11.39*[x]. that his power might be the more seene in raising him, and restoring him to life. He can bring life out of death; out of warre, peace; and reformation out of the greatest deformity and confusion. When the *Israelites* were forced to those straits, being[y] between their enemies and the Seas, between the swords and the waters, and the Mountains being on

q *Moriamur simul cum sancto Episcopo. Pont. in pass. Cypr.*

r Ὁρῶν ὃ ἀφίλητον οὐκ δύναται, ἢ πεῖται τὸ ἔνδον νομιζόμενον σοφίσασθαι, ἰσχύον αἰδωμένον εἶναι ἐν καιρῷ καὶ φιλοδοξίᾳ ὑπάρχον αὐτῶν, &c. *Apol. 1.*

s Καὶ τὸ ἄτιμον ἐκτυφθέντων δρυῶν ἄλλα τοῖς ῥιζώμασι φύεται. *De Cur. Gr. aff. Ser. 9.*

t *Quidam dura patiuntur, ut alios pati doceant. Sen.*

u Εἰς τὸ ὁρώμενον ἀφῆκε βλέπειν, ἐκ τῆς τυφλώσεως ἀναστῆσαι. *Alex. Rhars.*

x Ἵνα καθὼς ἴσασι λέγειν ἐπὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων αὐτὸν ἀγίσωσιν· ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐν ἄδου δύναμαι. *Basil. Sel. de Laz.*

y *Inter mare & hostes, inter undas & gladios.*

on either ſide, that they knew not what way to take: *Moſes* then bids them, *ſtand ſtill, and ſee the ſalvation of the Lord*, *Exod.* 14.13. and accordingly they ſaw it, as the ſtory ſheweth. Thus Gods honour is moſt advanced, when his people are at the loweſt.

Secondly, the Lord alſo turneth the croſſes of his people into crownes; and they make alſo for their glory, that they may ſee, how he *of very faithfulneſſe, cauſeth them to be troubled.*

1. For firſt, the readieſt way to heaven, is by weeping croſſe. Chriſt, who came down from thence, could find no other way thither againe; as he ſometime ſaid himſelf: *Ought not Chriſt to ſuffer theſe things, and to enter into his glory?* Luk. 24.26. And thus taught *Paul* and *Barnabas*, Act. 14.22. *That we muſt through much tribulation enter into the kingdome of God.* To which alſo agreeth that of the Apoſtle: *Whom the Lord loveth he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every ſonne whom he receiveth*, Heb. 12.6. God deals not with his children, as many fooliſh parents do with theirs; who [z] by their fond affection to them, find cauſe at length not to affect them at all. *For if ye be without chaſtiſement, then ye are baſtards and not ſons*, Heb. 12.8. *If the Lord ſay once; I will make my fury towards thee to reſt,—— and will be no more angry*, Ezek. 16. 42. thou maiſt take it ſo, as if in plain termes he had told thee, I will withdraw my love from thee, and will never more be pleaſed with thee. His fatherly correction keeps off the ſeveritie of his judgement, fits thee for mercy, and by conſequent for heaven too. It is, I confeſſe, a ſight for heaven onely; * A godly poore man lying in a rich mans boſome: And this is the meaning here, *Lazarus*, who after his ſufferings here on earth, *was by Angels carried into Abrahams boſome*, *Luk.* 16.22.

z Ex τῦ λίαν θλεῖν εἰς τὸ μὴ θλεῖν. Plut. περὶ παιδ. ἀγ.

a *Nunquam magis iraſcitur deus, quam cum non iraſcitur. Bern.*

* *Pium pauperem in ſinu divitis. Aug.*

Secondly, as afflictions to ſuch are a way to glory; ſo they work a proportionable reward in glory. If the damned lye ſo orderly in hell; that it is eaſier there for ſome then others; then ſurely there is no leſſe order obſerved of God in heaven: but as ſome *ſhall ſhine as the firmament*, ſo others, *as the ſtars*

in the firmament, for ever and ever, Dan. 12.3. And *one ſtarre differeth from another ſtarre in glory*, 1 Cor. 15.41. It ſhould ſeeme otherwiſe, by that parable of the labourers in the vineyard; to every one of which was given his peny; neither more nor leſſe, come he ſooner or later: [b] which may be thought unequall. The School-men therefore would have us to conceive, [c] that though every man had a peny; yet one mans peny was brighter, or better ſilver then another: that is, the one may have a more cleare viſion of glory, then another. And why may we not much rather take his judgement, who conceiveth, [d] that the work of thoſe who bore the heat and burden of the day, is reckon'd in their wages, and their pains accounted as no ſmall part of their payment; it being an honour to them ſo to be imployed? *To you it is given not onely to beleeve in Chriſt; but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake*, Phil. 1.29. 'Tis not an *omnibus datum*, not given to all: it is an honour God hath vouchſafed to you. As *Moſes eſteem'd the reproach of Chriſt, greater riches, then the treaſures of Egypt*, Heb. 11.26. But let this be onely ſo, in the account of thoſe, that are of ſuch affections, as that *Moſes* was; it will no doubt be found moſt true; [e] That as the troubles are, ſo at leaſt ſhall be the glory.

Thirdly, I ſaid at leaſt: But indeed, [f] it ſhall farre exceed; which may be another reaſon, why the Lord honoureth his ſervants with ſuch tryals. The Apoſtle doth make good this aſſertion to the full, 2 Cor. 4.17. where he ſaith, *For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a farre more exceeding and eternall weight of glory*. [g] Where he compareth things preſent with things future; a moment with eternitie; light with weight; and affliction with glorie. And by his expreſſion, after the [h] *Originall*, who ſheweth how infinitely the latter doth tranſcend the former. And again, *Rom.* 8.18. *For I reckon that the ſufferings of this preſent time, are not worthy to be compared to the glory which ſhall be revealed in us*. * I reckon, or account: ſaith the Apoſtle, and truly there was no man fitter to make the reckoning or account, then he; who ſuffered more then any in his time,

2 Cor.

b Τὸν ἄνισον τὸ ἴσον ἄνισον. Plat.

c *Denarius unus, differentia claritatis. P. Lumb. Sent. lib. 4 Diſt. 49.*

d *Etiam labores in præmio numerandi. Magal. in Cart. Moſ.*

e *Quo plus tormenti, tanto plus erit gloriæ. Sen.*

f Νικᾷ ταῖς ἀνομοίοις τὰς ὁμοίας ὁ θεός. Chryſ. in Rom. 8.

g Τίθησι παραλλαγὴν, τὸ παρόντα τοῖς μέλλουσι, τὸ πρόσκαιρα πρὸς τὸ αἰώνιον, τὸ ἐλαφρὸν πρὸς τὸ βαρὺ, τὸ θλῖψιν πρὸς τὸ δόξαν.

h Καθ' ὑπεροχὴν εἰς ὑπερβολήν.

* λογίζομαι.

2 Cor. 11. 23. and who had been rapt up into the third heavens: 2 Cor. 12. 2. And by experience he found it true; that there is no compariſon betwixt them. And whereas (ſaith *Chryſoſtome*) [i] it may ſad thy heart a little; that the afflictions, they are preſent, and the glory is to come; theſe in ſenſe and feeling, they in hope and expectation: let this rather comfort thee, (ſaith he) that though the preſent time how ſhort ſoever, may comprehend thy ſufferings; yet ſuch ſhall be thy glory, that it requireth an eternitie of being to containe it.

i Εἰ ἦτο μέλλειν ἀνλυτος, &c. *Chryſoſt. in Loc.*

Thus have I ſhewed ſome reaſons amongſt many, of this Gods dealing with his ſervants in this life; who, though their paſſions are both many, and great, cauſing them, as in this Pſalme, to cry, and cry againe to God; yet I beleeve you ſee ſuch iſſue of theſe ſufferings, that I think I may be bold to ſay, in the words of *Seneca*, I [k] ſhall perſwade you hence, never to pity any good man in trouble; he being then in his readieſt way from grace to glory. Yet this muſt be confeſſed as a truth, both by divine teſtimony, and humane experience: *No chaſtening for the preſent ſeemeth ioyous, but grievous; neverthelesſe, afterwards it yeeldeth the peaceable fruit of righteouſneſſe, to them that are exerciſed thereby*, Heb. 12. 11.

k *Perſuadebo inde tibi ut nunquam boni viri miſereare.*

Come we now to the uſes of this doctrine.

Uſe 1.

Is it the Churches lot, and moſt conſtant condition, in the world, to ſuffer ſorrows, and for ſuch reaſons? First, let us from hence then be exhorted unto patience in our troubles, ſince there is ſo much good ariſing from them; ſo much improvement of grace, ſo much help towards glory; glory, I ſay, gain'd to God, and glory to the patient ſufferers. I have read a ſtory, in an old Writer of our Nation, of a young man lying upon his death-bed; who being viſited by one, who had been a ſharp School-maſter ſometime to him, took him by the hands, and ſaid; [l] *Theſe hands ſhall carry me to Paradiſe.* And it is as truly ſaid of that great Divine, touching God, who throws ſometimes at us [m] a dart that ſeems ſharpe and bitter; yet the hand is alwaies ſweet that throweth it. It is the hand of a Father, not an enemie: and [n] there is no father

l *Iſtæ manus me portant ad paradiſum. Ieb. de Promy.*

m Πικρὸς βέλος, ἀλλ' ἁπαλὴ χειρ. *Naz. in Carm.*

n Nullus pater tam pater. *Tert.*

father ſo fatherly: He that hath put ſuch bowels into an earthly father, that he cannot indure to ſee his childs arme, or hand cut off, unleſſe in caſe to prevent the creeping of a Gangrene, that may endanger his childes life: without all doubt would not himſelfe deal ſo ſharply with his deareſt children, were it not for prevention of ſome great evill, or obtaining of ſome good thereby. Remember to this purpoſe, how patient God hath been with us; how like the patient ſheepheard, [o] who ſought ſo diligently for his loſt ſheep, which impatience would have ſcorned and neglected, being but one; ſo patiently carried it upon his ſhoulders, when he had found it. How patient hath this Father been to his prodigals; and how lovingly hath he entertained them; when the elder brother after an impatient manner grudged at his Fathers pitie and toleration? He hath been patient with us, *till there was no remedy*: and therefore forget not *the exhortation which ſpeaketh unto you as unto children*; *My ſonne deſpiſe not thou the chaſtening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him*, Heb. 12. 5. He knoweth what is good for thee, what ſinne he would purge out of thee; what grace he would worke in thee: or what he would exerciſe, or augment in thee: what glory he ſeeks to himſelf; what moſt eſpecially unto thee: that then which thou hopeſt for, expect with patience, *Rom.* 8. 25. [p] Some may aske, (as *Tertullian* ſaith) When ſhall I come unto that hoped for, and expected joy, and glory? Patience makes anſwer, When the Lord ſhall grant it. No delayes are call'd long, of ſuch things as ſhall ſurely come to paſſe. What though thou muſt endure many a ſtorme and tempeſt, it may be to the hazard of this veſſel of thy body: thou ſhalt at laſt arrive at the *faire havens*, and come unto the port, where thou wouldeſt be.

Secondly, this leſſon, ſo grounded, may inſtruct us to deſire of God, rather to ſanctifie, then to remove a trouble, till he hath done the work for which he ſent it. *David* ſaid of his enemies, that they came about him like bees: he doth not ſay like waſpes. For though they us'd their ſtings, yet he found honey in them too. There hath been much ado amongſt

[o] *Erroneam ovem patientia paſtoris requirit, & invenit. Nam impatientia unam facile contemneret, &c. Tertul. de Pat:* ὁ πλανηθεὶς τῶν ἑκατὸν προβάτων ἐζήτησε μᾶλλον καὶ εὗρε τὸ πλανηθὲν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ποιμὴν, &c. Baſ. Sel. Εἰς τὸ Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός.

[p] *Quærat aliquis Quando perventura ad ſperatum illud gaudium? Reſpondet patientia, Cum deus decrevit. Nullæ ſunt longæ moræ ejus, quod certò eveniet. lib. de Pat.* Βοηδρομίαι μακρὰν ἀπὸ τᾶς ἀλκᾶς, ἀλλὰ παρεοῦσαι. *Theocr.*

Uſe. 2.

mongſt the learned, to reconcile two texts of Scripture; that of *Geneſ.* 47.31. with that of *Heb.* 11.21. The firſt place ſaith, *Iſrael bowed himſelfe upon the beds head.* The ſecond, reciting the ſame ſtory, ſaith of that Patriarch, *when he was dying*, that he worſhipped, *leaning upon the top of his ſtaffe, or rod.* I will not trouble you with the various conceits of the Interpreters, upon thoſe places. I will onely ſhew you how one takes upon him, to reconcile them readily. Think you (ſaith he) there is no correſpondence between a bed and a rod? Why? I dare make it good, by the teſtimony of the Martyrs, and many of the people of God: That [q] the Saints never reſt more ſweetly on their *beds*, then when they have been wearied under the *rods* of God. Then they can talke of their griefes and ſufferings, as men tell their dreams, ſaith *Anſelm*, upon thoſe words of the *Apoſtle*; *As dying, and beholdwe live, &c. As ſorrowfull, yet alway reioycing*, 2 Cor. 6.9,10. Thus I have heard one tell, [r] Me thought I ſate thus, and me thought thus I ſpake: when all prov'd but a dream. So he. Me thought I was a dying, but behold, I am alive. Me thought I was full of griefe, and behold I am rejoycing. Thus the Apoſtles went away after whippings, rejoycing, that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt: as if they had but dream't of ſcourging, and were indeed ſleeping upon a ſoft bed. Afflictions ſanctified will be found joyfull in the iſſue. Pray we then for this grace, and expect this reſt; rather then ſtruggle to be rid of them, yea or deſire God to take them off, till he hath finiſhed, what he intended by them.

* ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου.

q *Sancti numquam dulcius requieſcunt, quam cum laboribus, & virgis fatigantur. Magal. in Cant. Moſ.*

r *Quaſi ſedebam, quaſi loquebar. Anſelm. in Loc. Dolor habet quaſi gaudium non habet quaſi.* Ibid.

Thirdly, this may ſerve to reprove thoſe, who cenſure the godly, when they lie under any troubles or diſtreſſes, as if God had deſerted them; or rather had falne upon them as an enemie. They judg'd the ſame even of Chriſt himſelf; *though ſurely he hath born our griefs*, and *carried our ſorrows: yet we did eſteeme him ſtricken, ſmitten of God, and afflicted*, Iſa. 53. 4. Thus thoſe *Barbarians*, Act. 28. 4. when they beheld the [s] viper hanging upon the hand of *Paul*, ſaid one to another: *Doubtleſſe this man is a murderer, who though he hath*

Uſe. 3.

s συναρπάσαν τὴν Παύλου χεῖρα ἰὸς. Basil.

hath escaped the sea, vengeance will not suffer him to live. Though soon they fell into the other extreme, (when they saw how he shak't off the beast into the fire) *changing their minds.* [t] Of a murderer they make him a God. How bitterly did those unfriendly friends of *Iob* deale with him in this kinde, adding affliction to the afflicted; *Eliphaz* saying unto him, *Who ever perished being innocent? or where were the upright destroyed?* Iob 4.7. And *Bildad*, to the same effect: *Behold, God will not cast away an upright man*: Chap. 8.10. plainly insinuating, that vengeance from God was gone out against him for his sinnes. Whereas *Iob* tels them, that *they forged lies*, Chap. 13.4. *Will ye speak wickedly for Gods defence, and talke deceitfully for his cause?* vers. 7. They thought they spake upon Gods part, while ignorant of his wayes, *they blasphemed the generation of the iust.* A sinne too common, and justly here confuted, by Gods usuall dealing with most beloved children. The little boy, seeing his mother pull the Roses and Violets to pieces; and putting them in a mortar, and pownding them with a pestill, cryeth out, his mother will spoile all the flowers; when she intendeth to make them more usefull: so foolish men conceive of God, when he is pleased to bruise his choycest servants under tribulations, as if he had an intention utterly to ruine them; when he is in the way of making them more fit for his service, and after that more glorious. Learne then to be acquainted with Gods dispensations, and leave thus to censure them, as cut off from him, whom he is drawing nigher unto him. And say to every good man so afflicted: God hath been pleased to seeme, as if he had *departed from thee for a season*: but his purpose herein is; *that thou maist enioy him for ever.*

[t] τὸν φονέα θεὸν ἀπέφηναν. Chrys.

* *Use.* 4.

[u] Τοιαύτην γὰρ ἔδειξε ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἰὼβ ὁπόταν εἰς τὴν ζάλην, &c. Macar. Hom 49.

[x] χειμασθέντας μᾶλλον ἀμειφθῆναι παρὰ θεοῦ. Basil. Seleuc.

[y] *Quin insuper gratulari, & gaudere nos decet dignationē divinæ castigationis. Ego, inquit, quos diligo castigo. O servum beatum cujus emendationi Dominus instat; cui dignatur irasci, &c. Tertul. de Patient.*

* Lastly, from this doctrine, we may all draw comfort to our selves, when we are thus corrected, and for such ends, by such a loving Father. [u] Here is indeed the ready way to heaven; and present [x] sorrowes are to the godly most certaine arguments of future joyes. *My brethren, count it all ioy when ye fall into divers temptations*, Iam. 1.2. Yea, [y] we ought to give thanks, that God vouchsafeth to chastise us. Whom

I

I love (ſaith he) I chaſten. O bleſſed ſervant (ſaith that Ancient) for whoſe amendment God takes ſuch care, whom he is pleaſed to be angry with, &c. All thoſe reaſons before brought to ſhew, why God hath given his Spouſe no other dower, his children no other portion in this life, may be ſo many motives, to perſwade to conſolation in our ſaddeſt dayes. And unto theſe we may adde many more. As firſt,

First, by croſſes we are *conformed unto the image of his Sonne*, Rom. 8. 29.

Secondly, Chriſt himſelfe ſuffereth with us, nay ſuffereth in us. *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* Act. 9. 4. Chriſt is the head unto that body myſticall, whereof we are the members. Let a man kick another on the ſhinnes, or tread upon his foot, (ſaith *Auguſtine*) the head will cry out, and ſay; [z] Why doſt thou kick me? why doſt thou tread upon me?

z *Cur me calcas? cur me comprimis?*

Thirdly, he will ſo ſtrengthen us with his grace, that we may ſay with the Apoſtle: *I can do all things* (I, *and ſuffer all things too*) *in Chriſt, that ſtrengtheneth me*, Phil. 4. 13.

Fourthly, he will ſweeten all thoſe waters of *Marah* to us, that we ſhall find them moſt delicious in the cloſe. [a] The worlds ſweets, we know, will prove but bitterneſſe in the end. Even for the preſent they are but like thoſe Aromaticks, whereof the harlot boaſteth, ſaying, *Prov.* 7. 17. *I have perfumed my bed with myrrhe, aloes, and cinnamon.* [b] Behold (ſaith *Clemangius*) how with one ſweet, (a dry ſtick of cinnamon) ye have two extreme bitters, myrrhe and aloes. Whereas all bitters are ſweetneſſe which the Spouſe of Chriſt, his Church, receive from him. *A bundle of myrrhe is my beloved unto me, he ſhall lie all night between my breaſts*, *Cant.* 1. 13. A bundle of bitterneſſe, yet as ſweetly lodg'd, and as neer the heart, as may be.

a Εἰς τὰ ἡδέα τὰ λυπηρὰ, καὶ εἰς τὰ λυπηρὰ τὰ ἡδέα ἀνακεράννυται τὸ λυπεῖν. Plat. in Phæd.

b *Ecce ut cum uno dulci duo amariſſima conſociat.*

Fifthly, and laſtly, let this be a motive of comfort in our miſeries: that look by how much the light is ſweeter unto him, that hath for a long time been ſhut up in ſome darkeſome dungeon; then unto thoſe, who have alwaies enjoy'd the Sunne in his brightneſſe: as the haven is to the mariner,

that hath been toſſ'd, for many moneths, in the tempeſtuous ſeas: ſo ſhall heaven be unto that ſoule, that hath walked heavily in the darkneſſe of affliction; and hath been weather-beaten with the ſtormes of griefes and troubles.

Thus much may ſerve, touching the ſtate of Gods Church here on earth.

2. I come now to the ſecond thing conſiderable, in the Text, which I call'd τὸν πρᾶξιν, the practiſe, and the exerciſe of the Church remaining in this ſtate, in theſe expreſſions, *Then they cried unto the Lord.*

In which words you readily obſerve three things. Firſt, that which is here implyed, which I may call, the act; *they prayed.* Secondly, that which is here expreſſed, which is the manner; They did it fervently, *They cried.* Thirdly, that without which all had been in vaine, and that is *the obiect*, unto whom they prayed crying; that is, *to the Lord. Then they cried*, &c.

[c] *Afflictio facit religioſos. Eraſ. in Coll.*

I might well here obſerve, that [c] Diſtreſſes force devotion. *Eraſmus* hath obſerv'd it, in the rudeſt mariners; and we find the ſame, in that Prophecie, or hiſtory of *Ionah.* When *Numa* had ordained many religious ceremonies in *Rome*, and had induced the people to a conſtant practiſe of them: *Tullus Hoſtilius*, who ſucceeded him, caſt them all out again, and held (as the * Hiſtorian tels us) nothing leſſe comely in a King, then to ſubmit himſelf to ſuch obſervances. But when a peſtilence had once raged in that great Citie, and a long lingering ſickneſſe had pull'd down his own proud fleſh: then not great ſacrifices onely muſt be offered, but every trifling ſuperſtition muſt be punctually obſerv'd. The Pſalmiſt noteth, how even the brute creatures do in their kind crie, and call in time of need, and that to God, the great Creator and preſerver of them all. *The lions roare* (ſaith he) *ſuffering hunger: and they ſeek their meat of God.* And again: *Thou feedeſt the young ravens that call upon thee.*

* *T. Livius.*

But I will not ſtay you upon this Conſideration: But ſhew you what this practiſe of the Saints more fully declareth to us. And to this purpoſe ſhall make this my ſecond generall Doctrine.

Earneſt

Earneſt [d] prayer, or crying to the Lord, is an effectuall meanes to get helpe, and full deliverance in troubles and diſtreſſes. *Doctr.* 2.

d Περιγὰρ σωτηρίας ἀφορμή *Chryſ. de Orat.*

Where we have juſt occaſion for the clearing of this point, to open, at leaſt briefly, every of thoſe three things forementioned; as,

Firſt, the act, which is *praying*. Prayer is a duty neceſſary, and that, *vi præcepti*, God hath commanded it: It is as well *Dei veneratio*, as *hominis petitio*, a ſpeciall part of Gods worſhip from man, as well as an expreſſion of mans ſuits to God: God hath made this a character of his people who worſhip and ſerve him: they are ſuch as *call upon the Name of the Lord*. He hath given this title to the place of his publick worſhip: *My houſe ſhall be called the houſe of prayer to all Nations*. While we pray to God, we give him that honour which is due unto his Name: as, firſt, of [e] Omniſcience, knowing the hearts of men: For prayer is the [f] lifting up of the ſoul to God. Secondly, of Omnipotence, as, that he is able to grant us what we aſk, and [g] to do what he will. Thirdly, of Mercy, as being ready, yea more ready to hear then we to aſk. *He prepareth the heart to prayer, and his ear hearkneth thereto*. And, which concerns our matter in hand, prayer is required of us, *neceſſitate medii*, as a neceſſary meanes of procuring good unto us from him, from whom *every good giving and every perfect gift doth come*, *Iam.* 1.17. *Aſk, and ye ſhall have*, ſaith *Chriſt*, *Luke* 11.9. And, *Ye have not, becauſe ye aſke not*, ſaith Chriſts Apoſtle, *Iam.* 4.2. If thou wanteſt any thing that may be good for thee, praier is the key of heaven. Thoſe four keyes, whereof the * *Paraphraſt* of *Hieroſ.* ſpeaks, ſaying, That God ever keeps them in his own hands, and will not give them unto any Angel whatſoever, (the keys of the womb, of the grave, of rain, of food) are all turned in Gods hand by prayer; or prayer is able to do the office of them all. *Hannah* prayed, and her barren wombe was opened; *Chriſt* prayed, and the grave was opened to *Lazarus*: *Elias* prayed, and it rained: and he openeth his hand and filleth every living thing with his bleſſing,

e Ὁλῶν ὢν ὁρᾷ, καὶ ὅλων ἀκούει, καὶ ὅλων γνῶσις, &c. *Cyril. Hieroſ. Cat.* 6.

f Ἀναβασις τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν. *Damaſc.*

g Ὁ Θεὸς αὐτεξούσιός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ θέλει ποιεῖ, &c. *Mac. hom.* 12.

* *Paraphr. Hier. in Gen.* 32.

ſing, and that undoubtedly, when they call upon him.

If thou deſireſt deliverance, when afflicted, *I cryed*, (ſaith our Prophet) *unto the Lord in my trouble, and he delivered me* [h]. If the whole Land, or the Church be in diſtreſſe, through any judgement, or any correction of the Lord; ſee what *Solomon* obtained by his prayer, at that ſolemn dedication of the Temple, 1 *Kings* 8. 33, &c. the place deſerves that you ſhould read it out at large; and ſee how it confirms the Point in hand. And to conclude, that you may know how neceſſary your moſt diligent and frequent prayers are in afflictions, *David*, a man acquainted with ſorrows, hath penn'd a Pſalm of purpoſe, which he cals, the *poor mans prayer*; or, as the title of it is tranſlated in our Bibles, *A prayer of the afflicted, when he is overwhelmed, &c. Pſal.* 102.

h Περσευχὴ ἀπαλλάττει τὰς θλίψεις, φυλακτήριον ἄριστον, θύραις μὴ τοῖς ἀλλήλοις, στοιχεῖον τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἴσον. *Chryſ. de Orat. hom.* 2.

Secondly, but in the next place let us conſider *the manner* how we muſt pray, that's fervently, feelingly; the word is here, *They cried*. Indeed we ſeldom reade of any of the Saints of God in prayer, but ſome way or other we may obſerve this kinde of zeal, and vehemency expreſſed, or implied. We read nothing uttered by *Moſes*, in way of prayer, in that place, where yet the Lord ſaith to him, *Wherefore crieſt thou unto me? Exod.* 14. 15. there were aſſuredly thoſe *groans unutterable*, *Rom.* 8. 26. ſuch as were in the heart of *Hannah* praying, without vocall expreſſion; and though *Eli* moſt raſhly cenſured her, ſhe modeſtly, and like her ſelf, replied; *I am a woman of a ſorrowfull ſpirit, &c. I have powred out my ſoule before the Lord. David* moſt frequently, in this book of Pſalms, is found praying and ſighing, praying and weeping, praying and groaning; and nothing more uſuall with him then to expreſſe his prayer by this word, *crying*. Sometimes he tels how he roared, for the very diſquietneſſe of his heart; as if he had ſaid with *Iob*, *My ſighing cometh before I eat, and my roarings are powred out like waters, Chap.* 3. 24. *Velut unda impellitur undâ*; as one wave drives on another, ſo one ſigh forceth another, and one roaring follows upon another. Even the Sonne of God himſelfe, *in the dayes of his fleſh*, thus *offered up prayers and ſupplications, with ſtrong crying and teares,*

1 *Sam.* 1. 15.

Heb.

Heb. 5. 7. and at the raiſing of his friend *Lazarus, he groaned in himſelf*, Ioh. 11. 38. and vers. 33. he groaned in the ſpirit, and *was troubled*; or, as the words are after the Originall, * He tormented himſelf. By all which teſtimonies it is evident, that prayer, that expecteth audience, muſt not be ſlight and perfunctory, but active and earneſt; and the reaſons are, firſt, becauſe, *curſed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently*. Secondly, becauſe *the Spirit it ſelf thus maketh interceſſion for us, helping our infirmities*, Rom. 8. 26. And, thirdly, God loveth thus violently to be dealt withall, thus importunately to be ſought unto. This our Saviour manifeſteth in the Parable of the man that came unto his friend at midnight, and deſired earneſtly to borrow a little bread of him; and at length had his requeſt, *not becauſe he was his friend*, but *becauſe* * *he was ſo impudent*; ſo 'tis in the words, *Luke* 11. 8. and in that parable alſo which he ſpake, *that men ought to pray, and not faint*, Luke 18. 1. where, after much delay, the unrighteous Iudge avengeth the poor widow, leſt *ſhe ſhould weary him out with her importunities*. In both which parables God plainly deliver eth his own minde, that he will ſurely heare, *and avenge his elect*, *Who cry* (or * roar) *after him day and night*, verſ. 7.

* ἱδρῶτα ἐξ αὐτὸν. that word in 2 *Pet.* 2. 4. (ταρταρώσας) uſed of the Devils tormented in *Tartarus*, or, Hell, is derived from hence.

* Διὰ γε τὴν ἀναιδείαν.

* Βοώντων πρὸς αὐτόν.

3. In the third place take notice of *the Obiect*, that's *the Lord*. The Lord alone is to be ſought by our prayers, *Who is a preſent help in trouble*: he calleth upon us to take this courſe, *Call upon me, &c.* Pſal. 50. and complains of ſuch as *forſake the fountain of living waters, and digge to themſelves pits that can hold no water*. The Philoſopher obſerves this difference between Arts and Vertues; we account him the beſt Artiſt, not that would, but that can work beſt; but we count him moſt vertuous, i not that can and will not; but that would do beſt, although he cannot. We need not ſay to God, or the Lord Chriſt, *Maſter, if thou canſt do any thing*; nor on the other ſide, *If thou wilt, thou canſt*: we need make no doubt, either of his power or will; he is both able and willing to relieve all ſuiters, and to ſupply in every caſe, when they ſeek his face, and wait upon him; when they pray and cry

i ἐ δυνατὸς ἀλλ' ὁ βουλόμενος, καὶ οὐχ ὁ δυνάμενος. *Ariſt.*

cries unto him. He is the God *that heareth prayers; and unto him shall all prayers come.* Read through all the records of the world, and shew me, if possibly you can, where any Saint of God made supplications unto any, but to God onely; and search as you go along, if you can finde, that ever he said to any suiter as *Philip* of *Macedon* to that poor woman, [k] *I have no leisure*; or, *Go away and come to morrow*, if it were seasonable for him to enjoy his suite at present? It was sweetly said of that gracious Emperour, * who would deny no Petitioner; * *It is not meet, that any man should goe out sadly from the presence of his King.* Who ever came to God, and went out from him heavie, or unsatisfied? Though he seeth nothing in us why he should regard us, yet he seeth something in himself why he should hear us, when we crie unto him; were it but this onely, *because he delighteth in mercy*, Mic. 7. 18. And ever may it be the delight of our hearts, that God is pleased to make mercy his delight.

[k] Ἀσχόλιά ἐστι νῦν μοι.

* Αἰσχύνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις. *Theocr.*
* *A vultu Imperatoris neminem oportet tristem discedere.*

By this which hath been spoken touching these three particulars, the *act*, the *manner*, and the *object of prayer*, I conceive the generall doctrine fully cleared; that,

Earnest prayer or crying unto God is an effectuall means of procuring help in trouble. I come now to application.

Vse 1. 1. Is salvation so nigh at hand, and the means so ready, as prayer should be? then let us here, in the first place, examine our own hearts, whether in these our great distresses we have found them ready to take hold of those meanes, that so we might obtain salvation and deliverance. Have ye not known some, who in stead of quickening their hearts to prayer, have found them dead, (like *Nabals*) *even as a stone within them?* 1 *Sam.* 25. 37. Are there not many such as *Hannah* speaks of in her song, *The wicked are silent in darkenesse*, that is, in the darkenesse of affliction, who finding their strength failing, *for by strength no man shall prevail*, 1 Sam. 2. 9. lie [l] murmuring and repining? And others, with that wicked King, crying out, *Behold, this evill is of the Lord, what should we wait for the Lord any longer?* 2 Kings 6. 33. Are there not some, who like *Asa*, *seek not to the Lord, but to the Physitians?* 2 Chron. 15. 12.

[l] *Murmura dum secum & rabiosa silentia radunt.*

15.12. *Phyſitians* of no value*, as *Iob* ſtyled his friends, *Iob* 13.4. the word there is the ſame with that which is given to* Idols: ſo they ſeek unto their arm of fleſh, and make Idols of their Forces, and vainly relie upon them, which cannot help? And laſtly, are not too many of us like unto *Ahaz*, who *in the time of this diſtreſſe do treſpaſſe yet more againſt the Lord?* 2 Chron.28.22. If it be ſo, as I fear it is, then it is high time for us, now at laſt to beſtirre our ſelves, and to learn to hold faſt by God, and to betake our ſelves to prayer, our ſureſt refuge, in ſuch a ſad condition as we are in.

* אלל

* אללים Levit.26.1.

Vſe 2.

2. And therefore in the next place, let us be exhorted to this neceſſary dutie; let's to our knees, and fall low before our God: if any way we obtaine, it will be by prayer. Ye have heard how that legion of Chriſtians in the Army of *Marcus Aurelius* prevailed by prayer, called therefore, The *thunder-darting Legion. Ye have heard how much the Emperour *Conſtantine* hath, in this kinde, aſcribed to prayer. How often did the people of God prevaile againſt their enemies by this ſtratageme? When *Moſes* prayed, when *Joſhua* prayed, when all the men of *Iſrael* faſted, and wept, and prayed, then victories were obtained. It were infinite to recount what mightie things have beene accompliſhed by prayer, things to mans judgement impoſſible: What diſeaſes, ſeeming incurable, have been healed by prayer? what dead raiſed? what devils caſt out? It's worth the noting, that *Peter* ſaid to *Simon Magus*, *Pray to God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee*, Acts 8.22. as if he had told him, If it happen well to thee any way, it will be by prayer. Vpon this practice, man may, with humble reverence, expoſtulate with God; *How long wilt thou be angry with thy people that prayeth?* As *Amalek* was overcome while *Moſes* held up his hands: ſo lift up the hands of thy ſoul to heaven, and thou ſhalt cloſe with God, and then *Satan* and all his Forces ſhall fall under thy feet.

* Κεραυνοβόλος.

m Περσευχὴ ἅ ἄμαχον ὅπλον, ἡ ἀσφαλὲς φυλακτήριον, ἀμείνων μυρίων τειχῶν ἅπαντων ἰσχυροτέρα, ἀμείνων ἅ πολλῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ στρατοπέδων ἀνείδας. *Chryſoſt. de Orat. Hom.* 1.

n Ὅτι ἐπαίρεις τὰς χεῖρας σὺ πρὸς σε, καὶ τὰς λογισμὰς εἰς τὸ ὕψος, καὶ δυνήσεις ἀφισκολλᾶσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ πάντως σὺ λογισμὸν σε ἐνεπε ὁ Σατανᾶς. *Macar. hom.* 50.

But ſome may here object, We have prayed often, and the Lord hath not beene pleaſed to heare us, but rather appeared, as rejecting all our ſuits. *Obiect.*

Answ.

To which I answer with the Apostle *Iames*, *Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amisse*, Chap. 4. 3. Ye misse sometimes in the manner, sometimes in the matter, many times in the end; so that he said not amisse, that told thee, [o] Thou hast received, when thou hast not received. God hearing many times to thy good, when he hears not to thy desire; and gives thee that which is much better for thee, then what thy corrupt will, or ignorance would obtain. Again, it may be, he onely deferreth to give, till thou be fitter to receive; or [p] because he delighteth to hold thee longer with him. Remember how often thou hast heard a Begger crie unto thee, and thou hast refused to give him; and this done of crueltie, when God hath never refused but of mercy. Nay, let me adde; Thou hast often heard God calling to thee, and thou hast not regarded him, therefore it is but just, that he should render like for like unto thee.

o Ελαβε ὐκ τὴν μὴ λαβὼν. *Chrysost. de Orat. hom. 2. Audit ad salutem, cum non ad voluntatem.*

p Διλωνότι παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατέχει τὸν ἐλόμενον. *Ibid.* Ἐντεῦθεν ποσάκις ἤκουσε πίπτε εἰς κρημνὸν, καὶ ὐκ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ὅτε ἀμύητος τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὁ Θεὸς ὅτε φιλανθρωπίας.

Vse 3.

3. Thirdly, let us, from the second consideration be instructed to pray fervently, and to pray incessantly. Ye heard how the Saints, yea how the Sonne of God expressed himself in his supplications. Wrastle with God in prayer, though thou venture a joynt, as *Iacob* did. *The hollow of* Iacob's *thigh was out of joynt, as he wrastled with him. And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh; and he said, I will not let thee go, unlesse thou blesse me*, Gen. 32, 25, 26. *Moses* also was wont to lay such strong hold on God, that when he resolved to avenge himself upon the people for their sin, he was fain to say unto him, *Now therfore let me alone, Exod.* 32. 10. as it were to prevent his violence, as I may call it, holy violence. And in truth, [*] *the prayer of a righteous man hath great strength*, and is able to do much *if it be acted*, or moved by the Spirit: (so I may interpret the words) *Iam.* 5. 16. I remember the *Canaanan* woman, *how she cried after Christ*, Mat. 15. 23. and what snibs she, poor soul, suffered; Send her away, said the Disciples; I am not sent to such as thou art, said our Saviour; and yet still she cries, *Lord help me*: and when he told her, That it is not good to take the Childrens bread and cast it unto Whelps; she rejoyns unto him, as if she would have said, I thank thee for

* Πολὺ ἰσχύει ἡ δέησις τοῦ δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη.

for that, Lord, and Ile play the Dogges part, be but thou the Master; beat me out at one door, Ile come in at the other; for the Whelpes eat of the crums that fall from their Masters tables; and a crum of thy bread, of thy mercy, will serve my turn: and then you know how highly Christ commended her, and how liberally he grants unto her, *vers.* 28.

Alas! how different is our manner of praying! justly may that be charged upon every one of us, [q] Thou calleſt unto God to attend to thee, when thou attendeſt not unto thy ſelf. Be we then inſtructed hence, to pray with feeling, to pray with fervour.

And when thou haſt begun to call upon the Lord, give him no reſt, [r] nor thy ſelf neither day nor night, untill thou haſt obtain'd ſome return of favour from him: well may you wait upon him, for *the Lord will wait that he may be gracious unto you, &c. Bleſſed are all they that wait for him*, Isa. 30. 18.

Give me leave to adde another ſhort inſtruction unto this, touching the Mediatour of our ſuits to God, taken from the conſideration of the Object of our prayers, the Lord.

4. Muſt our ſupplications be all directed to the Lord? then muſt they all be ſent up to him by the hands of Christ, and in his Name: *Whatſoever ye ſhall ask the Father in my Name, he will give it you*, Iohn 16. 23. *There is but one Mediatour between God and man, the man Chriſt Ieſus*, 1 Tim. 2. 5. *We have an Advocate with the Father, Ieſus Chriſt the righteous*, 1 Ioh. 2. 1. It hath of late years been [s] preached in the greateſt audience, that there is no impietie in making Angels Advocates, and Mediatours of our prayers, ſo they be but our *Angel-guardians*, (of which kinde our Preacher would have no man doubt) and that a man may ſafely ſay, Good *Angel-guardian* pray for me. And the ſame Anthor, in another Work of his, (though he ſpeaks ſomthing more warily in this) tels us, [t] *Perhaps* there is no ſuch great impietie in ſaying, Saint *Laurence* pray for me. I will not urge thoſe words in *Iob*, Chap. 5. 1. Call now, if there be any that will anſwer thee, and to which of the Saints wilt thou turn? But when the Prophet *Iſaiah* tels us, that *Abraham* is ignorant of

q Σὺ δὲ ἐκ ἀκούεις τ ὁλχὸς σὺ, κ ἡ θεὸς θέλεις πυθέσθαι ἀνώτερα. *Chryſ. de Orat. hom.* 2. *Deprecor Deum, ut mihi intendat, ego autem nec mihi, nec illi intendo. Bern.*

r Μήτε ἡμέρας ἀργεῖ, μήτε νύκτας· ἀλλ' ὅτι ζῶντος ἐκ ἐμμένουσι τὴν ἀκρόασιν, τότε ἡ διάνοια εἰς φροντιδὰς χολαζέται. *Cypr. Hieroſ.* Πρ. κατ. χ.

Vſe 4.

s By *R. Montague* late *Biſhop of Norwich*, in his Sermon upon *Pſa.* 50. 15. *Call upon me, &c.* enlarged after by him into a Treatiſe.

t *Mont. Antag. pag.* 200.

us, and that *Iſrael* doth not acknowledge us, *Chap.* 63.16. I ſhall certainly beleeve, that *Laurence* knowes not me. I never read in all the Book of God, of any ſo calling to a Saint in heaven, but onely that one damned wretch in Hell, whoſe prayer indeed was much like his, *Father Abraham have mercy on me*, Luk. 16.24. If *Paul* had known that the *Philippians* could have made ſuch uſe of him in heaven, he had beene freed of that great ſtrait he was in, *Phil.* 1.23. for then not onely for himſelf, but even for them it had been well, were he where he ſo much deſired to be, for then he might have been their interceſſor with God, and might have preſented all their prayers unto him; but he knew no ſuch doctrine; he hath taught us otherwiſe. We read in *Revel.* 8. 1. that *there was ſilence in heaven for half an hour*; and what follows? *An Angel with a golden Cenſer ſtands at the Altar, and there was given unto him much Incenſe, that he ſhould offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the golden Altar which was before the Throne*, Verſ. 3. I will not ſtand to open this whole propheſie unto you, let this ſuffice; The Incenſe that is offered with our prayers, is Chriſts interceſſion, which ſmels ſo ſweetly in the noſtrils of God, that he is content, ſilence ſhould be in heaven for a little time (where yet his praiſes are ſung eternally) untill thoſe prayers of the Saints, ſo perfumed, be fully heard. Remember then, *Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God, making interceſſion for us*, *Rom.* 8. 34. let all our prayers then be made in his Name, and preſented unto the Father by his hand.

Vſe 5. Fiftly, there is an uſe of conſolation, ariſing from this conſideration, touching the Object of our ſupplications. Have we a God to call upon? and doth he call upon us, that we ſhould do ſo, and do it freely, frequently, and the more often, the more welcome? O bleſſed, and thrice bleſſed be his Name, that hath ſo graciouſly invited us. He hath not put us over to any ſuch, as the Papiſts fancie to be *Favourites*, or *Maſters of Requeſts* in heaven. God the great King of heaven and earth, is not like theſe his *Vice-royes*, who muſt have their other[u] *Eares* and *Eyes*, to ſee and heare their ſubjects

[u] *Satrapas quoſdam Barbaros ἄτα, καὶ ὄμματα appellatos. Philoſt. vit Apoll. Tyan. lib.* 1. *cap.* [illegible] *& cap.* 19.

in

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x *P. Chryſol. ſerm. in Luc.* 11.

y Καὶ πάντα θεῶν, χώτνιαι, ἡ πατέρα πηθώ. *Hom. Iliad.* 15.

z Στρεφόμενος ἐπὶ θύρας ἀνίησι τὸν ἀπεστυγηκότα τὸν ἐλεήμονα. *C. Rhod. Periech. Hom.* 9.

But then give me leave (I beſeech you) to adde one uſe more: Let it not ſeeme a digreſſion, which truly I conceive a ſeaſonable direction; and that is, Since prayer is ſo effectuall, and conſequently ſo uſefull in theſe calamitous times; let us from hence be all directed, eſpecially upon this day of ſolemn humiliation, to make our humble confeſſion unto God; and here principally of ſuch ſinnes, as may be thought to have the greateſt hand in theſe great judgements, that are upon our

Uſe. 6.

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Uſe. 6.

Land. We finde this to have been the conſtant practiſe of the Saints of God: Thus did good *Nehemiah*, he wept and mourned, faſted and prayed, *Nehem.* 1.4. and withall makes a large confeſſion of great ſins, *ver.* 6.7. and more largely, *Chap.* 9. 33, 34, 35. he confeſſeth the ſinnes of their Kings and Princes, of their Prieſts, and of their Fathers, and of all the people. Thus alſo did *Ezra*, as appeareth, *Ezr.* 9.5,6. Thus *Daniel*, exceeding them both, *Dan.* 9. 4, &c. *I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confeſſion, and ſaid, O Lord, the great and dreadfull God,* &c. *We have ſinned, and have committed iniquitie, and have rebelled,* &c. An example worthy to be imitated, and therefore worthy to be read over, and over againe; and to be learned, and put in practiſe by us all.

And for our help in this holy duty, ſuffer me to preſent unto you ſome of thoſe foule offences, that have provoked God againſt us, and which may be the preſent matter of our mourning, and of our ſerious confeſſion before God.

Firſt, I ſhall begin where, I fear, our miſeries began. *Our prophets have propheſied lies, and the prieſts have ruled by their means, and the people love to have it ſo,* Ier. 5.31. *The dayes of viſitation are come, the dayes of recompenſe are come, Iſrael ſhall know it: The prophet is a foole, and the ſpirituall man is mad, for the multitude of thine iniquitie, and the great hatred,* *Hoſ.* 9.7. Our *Nadabs* and *Abihu's*, *Aarons* ſonnes, have offered incenſe with ſtrange fire before the Lord: and no marvell then, if fire be gone forth from the Lord to devour them. The ſtory of thoſe men, (*Levit.* 10.) and of their fire, is by divers Interpreters, expounded, and applied to ſuch things, as have been the great abuſes of our times.

Procopius upon the place ſaith, [a] We have here a cleare example, that humane things are not to be mixed with divine. And have not we mixed *Apocryphall* writings with the *Canon* of the word of God? and (which is more to be lamented) have we not preferred them before the divine Scriptures? [b] Our directions for the *publike ſervice*, ſo punctually to be obſerved, by the late commands upon us, do in expreſſe termes tell us, that certaine books and chapters of the

a *Exemplum habemus clariſſimum, humana non admiſcenda divinis.*

b Calend and Order for reading, &c. Before the Common prayer.

the Old Teſtament are left unread, *as leaſt edifying:* and yet you ſhall find, by perufing the *Calendar*, how moſt of the *Apocrypha*, are brought in ſtead of them, as it ſeems thoughe the more edifying of the two. Beſides that other injunction of waving the ordinary leſſon upon the Lords day, in caſe a feſtivall of mans appointment, with his proper leſſon, ſhall fall upon it, doth both prefer the feaſt before the Sabbath; & (ſuch leſſons being many of them taken out of *Apocryphall* books) doth manifeſtly ſhew the precedence given to theſe humane things before thoſe which are divine. Strange fire indeed.

It is withall notoriouſly known, what ſtrange fire, in ſtead of that which God himſelfe hath kindled, hath for ſome yeers paſt broke forth from Pulpits, and Preſſes. *Arminian, Socinian*, popiſh opinions, of the deepeſt die, have every where gain'd applauſe, and the broachers, and abettours of them juſtified, nay preferr'd to the moſt eminent places the Church afforded.

And whereas M^r. *Calvin* upon the place and ſtory before cited, tels us, that we are taught from hence not to [c] corrupt Gods worſhip with any ſtrange deviſes: we know how much of this ſtrange fire was kindled in our Churches; not onely the erecting of altars, and their ſuperſtitious ornaments, prepared both for the altar, and the Prieſt that was to wait thereat: But bowings and religious worſhip hath been practiſed, and by ſome enjoyned, toward, or before the altar, pretending it to be Chriſts ſeat, or throne, as *Shelford*, and our [d] *Arch-prelate* call it: whereas thoſe that are skilfull in the Originall, ſhall finde by comparing [e] *Matth.* 4. 9. with [f] *Luk.* 4. 7. that the worſhip to, or before, an idol is all one in Scripture language: and our Tranſlatours rendring both places by the ſame expreſſions do ſhew, that in their judgements they are the ſame. A popiſh Doctor [g] who had been a Romiſh fugitive ſometime, told me, how *Papiſts* deride our *Maſters of theſe Ceremonies*: affirming, that they in their worſhip towards Altars, profeſſe, their adoration is to the Hoſt or Wafer, which conſecrated is ſuppoſed by them to be Chriſts body really; this being incloſed in a Pix hanging over the

c *Ne dei cultum ullis extraneis commentis violemus. Calv. in Levit.*

d Speech in the Starre-Chamber.

e Εἰς προσκύνησιν μόνον.

f Εἰς προσκύνησιν καὶ λατρείαν.

g D^r. *Sheldon.*

the Altar: or elſe, if no Pix there; then to ſome relique, or the like Hoſt, hid in the ſepulchre, or hollow place made in their Altars for that purpoſe. And whereas *Ambroſe* ſaith, [h] that ſtrange fire ſignifieth luſt; he means unclean luſt, and filthineſſe. Did not *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, the ſonnes of *Eli*, runne into this ſlander, cauſing men *to abhorre the offering of the Lord*? 1 Sam. 2. 17. 22. I bluſh to uncover this ſhamefull nakednesſe of too many of our prieſts: (ſo they deſire to be ſtyled) it's done already by [i] another.

h *Ignis alienus eſt libido. Ambr. Epiſt. 3 ad Simplic.*

i Cent. 1. by that religious Gent. and worthy Patriot, M. *I. White.*

Some of the *Rabbins* ſeem to excuſe *Aarons* ſons, pretending that they were in drink; and thereupon (ſay they) a law preſently was made, that the Prieſts ſhould neither *drink wine nor ſtrong drink, when they were to go into the Tabernacle of the Congregation*, &c. *Levit.* 10. 9. Though ſurely this would have aggravated, rather then extenuated their offence. And, if you aske the worthy Authour, before hinted, you ſhall ſee (though we be ſilent) how much the Prieſts of *England* (a ſad thing, being ſeriouſly conſidered) have offended in this kinde; which by an ancient Father, is called a [k] crime in other men, but in a Miniſter no leſſe then ſacriledge.

k Ebrietas in alio crimen, in ſacerdote ſacrilegium. *P. Chryſol. Serm.* 26.

But I dare go no further: we ſhall want tears to bewaile ſufficiently theſe abominations. *Let the whole houſe of Iſrael bewail the burning which the Lord hath kindled*, Levit. 10. 6. upon occaſion of meh ſtrange fire, as you have heard of. Farre be it from any Chriſtian, to diſport himſelfe, with theſe relations. [l] He that rejoyceth at anothers fall, doth but triumph upon the Devils victorie: and 'tis little honour to any man, to countenance ſuch triumphs. Ah! what pity it is, to ſee; that ſuch as ſhould have been ſtarres in the firmament of Gods Church, to give light unto his people, and to have wrought upon them by their influence and motion, and might have been great inſtruments for the converſion of others unto righteouſneſſe, and [m] ſo themſelves have ſhined *as ſtarres* (in the firmament of heaven) *for ever, and ever*, Dan. 12. 3. that they ſhould become Planets, or * erring ſtarres, as it is, *Jude* 13. *verſ.* erring, and ſo cauſing others to erre with them: Or, that ſuch ſhould become *ſtellæ cadentes*, falling ſtarres; a third

l *Qui de lapſu alieno gaudet, gaudet de diaboli victoria.*

m Ἀστέρας εἶδον· ἀστὴρ δ' ἐγὼ Ζηνὸς ἐνιζάνων μετ' ἀθάνατον ἔγεν ἐς ἰμάονας ἤπειρον. *Muſæus.*

* Ἀστέρες πλανῆται.

third part of which, the *Dragon, with his taile, ſhould caſt down to the earth*, Revel. 12.4. Oh that our ſoules could weepe for theſe things in ſecret; and on this day of humiliation remember them with ſorrow.

Secondly, I ſhall now paſſe from the Courts of Gods Houſe, into the Courts of Iuſtice, ſhall I ſay, or injuſtice? I confeſſe, I have nothing to ſay of theſe, from mine owne experience. But, as *Plutarch* writing of *Vſury*, ſaith, that he never had to doe with any of that craft; [n] nor did they ever ſeize upon his oxe, or horſe, ſo may I truly ſay, (and I bleſſe the Lord for it) that I never yet was ſuiter in any of thoſe Courts. But I have heard, and the whole Land hath heard, the cries of many, (and I fear, thoſe cries are heard in heaven too,) who by wofull experience have complained; that ſometime [o] juſtice hath been bought and ſold, even as cattle in the market. And let no man wonder at it: for if publick offices of publick juſtice have been ſet to ſale, ſurely there have beene Chapmen. And muſt not he that buyes his place, next ſell his practiſe? *Nicolaus Clemangius*, a good man (as good men went in his age) ſeemes to ſpeake very hardly touching the kingdome of *France*, wherein he lived: and he acknowledgeth in his Preface to his ſpeech, that his words may ſound but harſhly in the hearing. He ſaid [p] that there is more juſtice in hell, then was in that kingdome: And might we not have ſaid the ſame of ours, as truly? take but his reaſon along with you. In hell, (ſaith he) there is no juſt or innocent man oppreſt or wrong'd: and againe, in hell there is no unjuſt, or wicked man eſcapes unpuniſhed. And no marvell; for it is heavens juſtice, that is executed in hell. But, alas, what briberies and unjuſt extortions, what corrupting of all law and equitie for rewards, what oppreſſions, and what cruelties hath our Land groaned under? The Prophets often call ſuch, bloudy ſinnes, or ſhedding of bloud: and truly, what's a mans livelyhood, other then his life? *Ieruſalem*, where the ſeats, and thrones of judgement were, was for this called a bloudy Citie. And in that 22. of *Ezek.* *verſ.* 2. *The citie ſheddeth bloud*, ſaith the Lord, and *verſ.* 7. *In thee*

n οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁμαξῶν ἔδωκεν ἐπαύσατο, οὐδὲ ἵππου. *Plut. de Vſur.*

o *Cum more pecudis aut mancipii paſſim illic veneat. Clemang. de lapſ. & repar. juſtit. Cap.* 13. *Quid deteſtabilius &c. quam præfecturas, & alia publica officia juſtitiæ publicæ venundari?* Ibid.

p *Dico plane mihi videri, plus juſtitiæ in inferno eſſe, quam in regno iſto, &c.* Ibid. *Cap.* 10.

Sine cauſidicis ſatis olim fœlices fuere, futuræq; ſunt urbes. Colum.

q σῶμα μὲν ψυχὴ ἐσῳκίσε.

thee have they vexed the fatherleſſe and the widow; and *ver.* 12. *In thee have they taken gifts, to ſhed blood.* And then marke what followeth, in the very next verſe: *Behold therefore I have ſmitten mine hand at thy diſhoneſt gaine which thou haſt made, and at thy blood which hath been in the midſt of thee.* And he proceeds with terrible threats of vengeance, which muſt needs follow upon bloudy ſinnes. And we have great cauſe to think, that theſe bloudy judgements that are now upon us, are juſtly inflicted, amongſt others, for ſuch crimſon ſinnes, as theſe. Let this then adde unto the matter of our lamentation, and our humble confeſſions that we make to God. And let all officers of Courts remember theſe expreſſions of the Prophet; *to deſpiſe the gain of oppreſſions, and to ſhake their hands from holding of bribes*, Iſa. 33. 15. That is, to ſhake off bribes, as *Paul* ſhak'd off the viper from his hands. They will prove more venemous then any ſerpent, poyſoning thy ſoule, and bringing death eternall.

Thirdly, I muſt not leave here, till I have minded you of one or two ſinnes more, which as they are more common, ſo are no leſſe dreadfull then the former. The ſinne of pride in ſuch dayes of wrath, and ſuch cauſe of humiliation, muſt needs be acknowledged a ſinne exceeding ſinfull. I look but on the outſide. Our hearts are onely ſubject to Gods knowledge. And 'tis a mercy to us, that 'tis ſo. For ſo much pride, and envie, and deceit is harbour'd there, that, if we knew it, we ſhould never live in peace together. I ſee your outward garbe and garments; that, * as if a ſaylour ſhould ſet up his flagge when the ſhip is ſinking; even now when we ſhould put on ſackcloth, and lye down in aſhes, people will trimme themſelves, pride will be tricking. And when the penurie of the times cannot provide rich ornaments or garments, yet in ſuch things as are cheap pride will peep out. Whence elſe are theſe buſhes of haire, thoſe frizlings, criſpings, curlings, poudrings, and I know not what? What means your paintings, patchings, ſpottings of your faces? and what are thoſe toyes that you call *Fancies?* Are they not ſuch as an old Writer call'd *Satana ingenia*, the Devils fancies? I know pride came

* Βυθιζομένῳ τῷ πλοίῳ ἀπείρεσι τὰς σημαίας Arrian. in Epictet. lib. 3. cap 2.

came from him at the firſt, and God caſt it with him out of heaven, and neither he, nor it, ſhall finde the way thither againe. Read, Ladies and Gentlewomen, that third of *Iſa.* from *v.* 16. to the end of the Chapter. See there your ſtately carriage and poſture of your bodies, & your curious knacks, and deckings, even a faire Pedlars ſtall, of toyes and braveries. You will tell me that there are many things there you know not, much leſſe are guilty of the uſe of them. And let me anſwer; Even herein is no little part of the pride of theſe daies, that you ſo alter faſhions. For ſurely they were ſometimes reputed amongſt gorgeous ornaments. But I would have you read the place through, and ſee what the Lord renders unto ſuch as uſe theſe, or the like vanities. *Inſtead of ſweet ſmell there ſhall be ſtinke, and inſtead of a girdle a rent, and inſtead of well-ſet hair baldneſſe*, &c. *verſ.* 24.

There is nothing more fooliſh, did we rightly conſider it, then to ſhew pride in garments, which are indeed the enſignes of our ſhame; as if the thiefe ſhould be proud of his halter. They are called by [r] a word in the Hebrew tongue which ſignifies *perfidiouſneſſe*, as being the tokens of our perfidious dealing with God, when at firſt man was naked, and without any ſhame at all. They are but coverings of this *vile body*, Phil. 3. 21. So our tranſlation. But in the Originall, [s] *The body of our humiliation*; ſuch as we cannot think of, without humbling of our ſoules, in regard of the inordinacie and uncleanneſſe of it. And muſt our pride break forth in decking this? The Apoſtle tels us in another place, *The body is dead becauſe of ſinne*, Rom. 8. 10. Me thinkes then a courſe hearſe-cloth may become a dead corps beſt.

[r] בגד

[s] τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν.

Take heed, I beſeech you, of this heaven-provoking ſinne: it was the firſt that did contend with God: and it is that which God reſiſts for ever: and if he ſhould now fight againſt us, in theſe times of warre, we need no other enemie, he can deſtroy at once. God regards the lowly, gives grace to the humble, and with ſuch God will dwell; and where he dwels, all will be in ſafetie.

Fourthly, I have but one ſinne more, that I intend to name

unto you, but it is one, *for Which the land mourneth:* as in the dayes of *Ieremy* the Land of *Iudah* did, *Ier.* 23. 10. The ſinne of ſwearing, the common ſinne of young and old; children do learn it from their parents, even as ſoon, as they can call for meat or drink. It had wont to be accounted the language onely of great perſons, † who held it a matter of breeding, (as *Theodoret* ſaith) and an ornament of their ſpeech, to ſweare *by Iove*, or *by this light*, &c. But now not graceleſſe Gentlemen alone, but every baſe fellow thinkes it is a gracefull kind of ſpeaking, to ſweare, and to blaſpheme, eſpecially in ſuch oathes as are in faſhion at Court. It is the grief of all that feare the Name of God, that we have no law quick enough to meet with ſuch a ſinne. Surely the Lord fore-ſaw it would be ſo, when he addes to that Precept in his Law; *The Lord Will not hold him guiltleſſe*, &c. As if he had ſaid, Whatſoever man doth, God will not let the ſwearer go, but he ſhall one day come to guilty and not guilty for it. And give me leave (I beſeech you) to tell you plainly, that the Lord muſt needs be offended, that a ſinne ſo horrid, and ſo frequently, and univerſally committed, ſhould go unpuniſhed amongſt Chriſtians, that profeſſe the Name of God; and that you leave all upon him, as if you deſired to create work for him at his great Aſſiſes; when both the ſwearers, and * they that prevent not this ſinne, what they can, ſhall all hold up their hands at that terrible barre together, without repentance, and endevouring better, eſpecially being convinced of the fault. I cannot break off yet, till I have freed my ſoule in diſcovering that improvement men have made of their old ſwearing, by their forſwearing, or falſe ſwearing or equivocating, in their oathes and proteſtations, and ſolemn vowes and covenants, which being rightly and religiouſly performed are an acceptable ſervice unto God, and an aſcribing honour, and glory to his Name. A ſpirit of *Atheiſme*, I feare, runnes through the Land, and the good Spirit of God is much provoked by it: that our late ſolemne Vow is taken by many, who putting what ſenſe they pleaſe upon it, think ſo to delude the Lord, while they cheat their owne ſoules:

† Παιδίων ἄχρι γήρως λαμπρόν τι τὸ λέγειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ ὀμνύντες εἴποιεν, Μὰ τὸν Δία, Μὰ τὸν Ἥλιον. *De cur. Græc. affect. Serm.* 5.

* *Qui non vetat peccare, cum poſſit, jubet. Sen. Trag.*

ſoules: And others goe downright to it, without any more adoe, then that this is the way to ſave their goods, or to ſecure their perſons, when their hearts are moſt malignantly averſe from what they ſweare. The heathen themſelves will riſe up in judgement againſt ſuch, who ever had an oath in the greateſt [u] dreadfull reverence. If any ſuch be preſent, let them but conſider that place of *Zach.* 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. where the Prophet ſets forth his viſion of the flying roule, or book, of 20. cubits long, and 10. cubits broad, wherein were all thoſe curſes that come ſwiftly into the houſe of him that ſweareth falſly, and where it ſhall remain till it conſume it. I remember *Chryſoſtome* following the *Greek* verſion, reads, not a flying book, but a [x] flying hook or ſickle: whereby (ſaith he) appeareth how unavoidable the curſe ſhall be, that ſhall purſue the falſe ſwearer, and him that breakes his oathes and vowes: For had he ſaid [y] a flying dagger, haply a man might have avoided it; but when he tells us of an hook or ſickle gotten about the neck, there's no eſcaping ſuch a weapon. Remember what the Lord ſaith, *Deut.* 23. 21. *When thou ſhalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou ſhalt not be ſlack to pay it; for the Lord thy God will ſurely require it of thee, and it would be ſinne unto thee.*

u Σέβε ὅρκον. *Pythag. apud Iam.*

— Ορκον τ' ἰσπέμεσται ταρὰ θεῶν. *Theocr. in* Αλιεις.

x Δρέπανον πετόμβρον. *Septuag.*

y ξίφος μὲν γὰρ πετόμβρον ἴσως τις διαδέξαιτο δυνήσεται, δρεπάνιον δ' εἰς τ' τράχηλον ἐμπεσὸν, ἢ αὐτὴ ἀναγκὴ γενομένων ἀδεὲς ἂν διαφύγοι. *Hom.* 15. *ad pop. Antiochen.*

---*Et ſiquis primo perjuria celat, Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus. Tib.*

I ſhall no longer detain you in this ſad diſcourſe, touching the things which I conceive now incenſe God againſt us, and muſt provoke us, as we deſire deliverance from our trouble and diſtreſſes, while we pray and ſeek the Lord, to humble our ſelves for theſe and all ſuch crying and outragious evils. Thus much may ſerve for this uſe of direction, and for this ſecond generall.

3. And ſo I come to the laſt point obſervable in this Text, which I called τὸν ἐυτυχίαν, the good ſucceſſe the Church hath by her prayers to God, in thoſe words, *And he delivered them from their*, &c. *Doctr.* 3.

From which words plainly ariſeth this Doctrine: *Deliverance from diſtreſſes is from the Lord.* The troubles and diſtreſſes of the Saints of God here in this pilgrimage, (which is nothing elſe but a miſerable abſence from God for a ſeaſon)

ſon) are many and various; their whole life being like *Ezekiels* book, [z] *written within and without*, and nothing elſe written but *Lamentations, and mourning, and woe, Ezek.* 2. 10. Perplexities both of mind and body, in ward and outward, do accompany them daily. The Lord is pleaſed ſometimes to write bitter things againſt them, and to make their life very uncomfortable to them, through the anguiſh of their ſoules *The ſpirit of a man will ſuſtain his infirmities, but a wounded ſpirit who can beare?*

z Scriptus & intergo nec dum finitus.

It hath cauſed many to cry with *Iob* Chap. 7. 13, &c. *When I ſay, my bed ſhall comfort me, my couch ſhall eaſe my complaint: then thou ſcareſt me with dreames, and affrighteſt me through viſions: ſo that my ſoule chooſeth ſtrangling and death, rather then my life.* When through temptation they begin to thinke and ſay, that God hath wholly left them, and forſaken them; and complain, as one ſhould of a deare friend deſerting him; *Loe, he goeth by me, and I ſee him not*, &c. Iob 9. 11. whereas he had wont, to *ſet his heart upon me, and to viſit me every morning, Iob* 7. 17, 18. [a] There being nothing in the world ſo ſad unto a child of God, as to be ſo neglected by his heavenly Father. I remember ſomewhat of *Auguſtine*, to this purpoſe: If God ſhould ſay unto me, goe thy way, ſinne as much as thou wilt, I will not puniſh thee for it, &c. But thou ſhalt never ſee my face, [b] or, thou ſhalt never be with me: He ſeemes to make it, even the worſt of all puniſhments: For as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith to God, *In thy preſence is life:* And again, *If thou hideſt away thy face, we dye.* Now when this ſhall be our caſe, this our trouble and diſtreſſe, where ſhall we ſeek or hope to find deliverance, but in God alone? His countenance eſtranged hath made the wound, and a caſt of his countenance is able to cure all again. Lord lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us, and we ſhall be whole. Deliverance from inward ſorrowes is then from God alone: And the like muſt be acknowledged of all outward troubles. *Shall there be evill in a City, and the Lord hath not done it? Amos* 3. 6. [c] He meanes not *malum peccatorium*, the evill of ſinne, (there's no ſuch evill from the Lord) but *malum ultorium*, the evill of puniſhment

a Παύδειεν ὁ τὸ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὀλίζοντα ἀνεχόμενα, τὸ ἐξ ἐμιμήσατο φιλοτεκνίας τὸ Θεῖ. *Cyr. Alex. in Ioh. cap.* 2.

b *Nunquam mecum eris.*

c Καὶ φιλοτεκνία λέγει· καὶ ἡδονὴν κρύπτοντος ἀνθρώπου, ὀλίγα τε, &c. *Cyr. Alex. in loc.*

Δυσίατον τὸ τῆς κρυφίας ὠμότητος, δύσκαμπτον· σοφίᾳ γὰρ τὸ τῇ φύσει κακὸν θηλυ, &c. παντὸς τὸ πρὸς ἀμετάτευκτον ἀβάσκητον κρυπτὸν, καὶ δύσκαμπτον, ὄγκου τοῦ θλίψεως. *Damaſ. Orth. fid. lib.* 4. *cap.* 20.

niſhment (as *Tertul.* ſpeakes.) And this is properly from God, what, or who ever be the inſtrument. *I make peace* (ſaith God) *and create evill, Iſai.* 45. 7. We, when Gods hand is upon us, correcting us for our ſinnes, by ſome or other, whom hee is pleaſed to uſe as his rod, or ſcourge, uſually reflect upon theſe inſtruments: and like as children [d] when they take a fall (as *Seneca* obſerveth) cry out, to have the ground beaten; ſo we fall foule upon ſuch ſecondary cauſes, never conſidering either the Lord, who makes uſe of them at his pleaſure, or our own evill wayes, which provoke God againſt us. When *Shimei* caſt ſtones at *David*, and curſed him; So *let him curſe* (ſaid he) *becauſe the Lord hath ſaid unto him, Curſe David, who ſhall then ſay, Wherefore haſt thou done ſo? 2 Sam.* 16. 10. But did God command him then? I anſwer: There is a three-fold command of God obſervable:

d *Qui ſe ceciderint, terram verberari volunt. Senec.*

1. There is the mandate of his power or efficiency; thus he ſaid, let there be light, and it was ſo.

2. There is the mandate of his word, that is, the precepts of his Law or Goſpel.

And 3. there is the mandate of his providence; thus hee commanded the widow of *Zarephtah* to feed *Elijah*, 1 *King.* 17. 9 as alſo he did the ravens, verſ. 6. not by any expreſſe word of command, but by the mandate of his providence. And by this he ſaid to *Shimei, Curſe David.* He neither puts ill thoughts into the heart, nor evill words into the mouth of ſuch, but finding them ſo diſpoſed, he turnes them to the effecting his deſignes: Such is Gods wiſdome, that when he ſeeks up weapons to avenge himſelfe upon a people, he ſometimes (ſaith *Syneſius*) [e] makes uſe of a nation of barbarous men, ſometimes of an evill Prince, &c.

e Χρῆται τῶν μὲν θηρίοις βαρβαρικοῖς, τῶν δ' ἀνοήτοις πατράσι, &c. *Syneſ. epiſt.* 57.

And as God thus brings on the evill by his providence, ſo by his power onely can it be removed: *I kill* (ſaith he) *and I make alive; I wound, and I heale; neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand.* Deut. 32 39.

This plainly proves the Doctrine, that deliverance is from the Lord, becauſe *Vna eademque manus*, &c. the ſame hand that made the wound, muſt cure it: as they obſerved well,

Hoſ.

Hoſ. 6. Come, and let us return unto the Lord, for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath ſmitten, and he will binde us up. He can reſtrain the rage of the wicked at his pleaſure, can blunt their weapons, and binde their hands; and ſay unto them, as he doth unto the Sea, Hither ſhalt thou come, and no further; here ſhalt thou ſtay thy proud waves.

And hence another reaſon may be gathered, why our deliverance muſt be expected from the Lord alone; becauſe as he makes uſe of inſtruments, according to the pleaſure of his will, ſo in his wiſdome he bounds their actions, meaſureth out his corrections, and his judgements by proportion. His wayes are equall, though ours are unequall. Read that handwriting which was upon the plaiſter of the wall of the Palace of King *Belſhazzar*, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Vpharſin*, Dan. 5. 25. and read *Daniels* interpretation; *He hath numbred, numbred, weighed, and divided:* and then obſerve the manner of Gods dealing, how hee doth all things by number and weight, and moſt exactly numbreth and weigheth both the ſinnes and puniſhments, before hee divideth by his hand of judgement. And therefore as [f] the Finer of gold lets his metall lie no longer in the Furnace then till the droſſe be fully purged from it; ſo neither will the Lord endure his ſervants ſhould ſtay longer in the iron furnace of afflictions, then till their iniquitie bee removed, and they bettered by them. And therefore ſince the Lord ordereth the inſtruments in his providence, and the durance of our troubles, as you have heard: you cannot but acknowledge, that our deliverance is in his hands alone. And laſtly, he alone is able *perfectly* to ſave, and to deliver from all and every kinde of trouble, be it warre, peſtilence, or famine, his three great judgements; or be it any other calamitie: *I, even I am the Lord, and beſides me there is no Saviour*, Iſa. 43. 11. *He is able to ſave to the uttermoſt.* Conſider the ſalvation that God wrought for his people of old, *The enemy ſaid, I will purſue, I will overtake, I will divide the ſpoil; my luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them; I will draw my ſword, my hand ſhall deſtroy them*, Exod. 15. 9. *but in the thing, wherein they dealt proudly, God was above them,*

Chap.

f Καὶ γὰρ ὁ χρυσοχόος, ἕως ἂν ἴδῃ τὸ χρυσίον καλῶς ἐκκαθαρθὲν, &c. *Chryſ. hom. 4. ad pop. Antioch.*

Τῶν κολαζομένων ὁ θεὸς κήδεται· ἐπεὶ γὰρ, ἐπὶ τοῦτο μακρὸν, ὅπως ὁποσῆς ἀξιωθείσης Θεῷ, κἀθ' ἑαυτὸν διὰ δίκης τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. *Syneſ. epiſt. 57.*

Chap. 18. 11. *For thou didſt blow with thy winde, the ſea covered them, they ſanke as lead in the mighty waters,* Chap. 15. 10. *Yea the waters covered them, there was not one of them left,* *Pſal.* 106. 11. No, § not one to carry tidings of the great judgement that overtook them, while they purſued *the ordinance of the Lord.*

§ Μήτε ἀγγέλου τ' συμφορᾶς, &c. Ioſephus.

Should I go forward in the ſacred ſtory of this people, you would confeſſe the Doctrine fully proved, by Gods glorious works of power, wrought for their ſafety and deliverance many wayes. How was it that they travell'd in the wilderneſſe fourty yeers together, and their feet not ſwoll'n, nor they wearied in their journey? I anſwer, No marvell, when *as the Lord bare them, as a man carryeth his little ſonne, all the way that they went,* Deut. 1. 31. How did they eſcape ſtarving in the deſert, the barren wilderneſſe? let me put you in mind, how when the earth gave them no food, heaven rain'd downe bread unto them; that *Manna* which was ‖ both bread, and (as they write of it) all kind of meat, wherein they had what any one deſired to taſte, or feed on. How were they clothed all thoſe yeers? The Scripture tels us, that their garments waxed not old; and we muſt alſo know, that certainly they were extended and ſtretch't out, as their bodies grew. What ſhould we ſpeak of that guide they had in their journey, of the many dangers that they eſcaped, and, before they had poſſeſſion of the Land promiſed them, what enemies the Lord ſubdued by their hands? Let this ſuffice to ſhew, that ſuch were their deliverances, as no hand could compaſſe, but that mighty hand of the great God of heaven: * And that he alone can do the like in every age. Thus you have the Doctrine, I ſhall now endeavour briefly to apply it.

‖ Οἶδα γὰρ ἐμὸν ἄρτον οὐρανὸν, ὃν πάντες ἔπιον, ὃν πάντες ἔφαγον, γάλα γίνεται, καὶ κρέας ἡ λέγουσι Græc. Nyſſ. vit. Moſ.

* Γίγνεται μὲν τ' ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὰ γιγνόμενα. Sophocl.

Is help and health from God onely? Let us then be exhorted to uſe all means we can, to gain him on our parts; and then let us truſt in him, and ſtay our ſelves upon him. And to this purpoſe let us obſerve that ſpeech of *Azariah* to King *Aſa*, and his people: *Heare ye me Aſa, and all Iuda, and Beniamin: The Lord is with you, while you are with him, and* *Uſe* 1.

if you ſeek him, he will be found of you, 2 Chron. 15.2. Seeke the Lord then, and find him: and having found him, keep cloſe to him. As *Enoch walked with God*, Gen. 5.22, 24. ſo live as in his preſence, [i] who ſeeth thee, and beholdeth all thy wayes. *For thou Lord wilt bleſſe the righteous, and with the ſhield of thy favour wilt compaſſe him*, Pſal. 5.12. Stand to the cauſe of God, and engage thy ſelfe upon his part. The quarrell is not now with us, onely *de terminis & limitibus*, touching bounds, or land-marks, touching priviledges, and liberties: but whether *Chriſt* ſhall reign over us, or we ſhall baſely yeeld our necks unto the yoke of *Antichriſt*. This hath been known a long time, both to our friends, and foes in forein parts: And now at length *Ireland* hath cauſed the moſt wilfully blinded here in *England* to behold, and ſee it. If God be God, then follow him. *He ſhall deliver thee from the ſnare of the hunter*; ſuch as *Nimrod*, *Eſau*, hunters of men: ſo the Scripture ſtyleth perſecutours of Gods Saints; whereupon I remember *Hierome* ſaith, [k] we read of holy Fiſher-men, but never of holy Hunters. Such Hunters have been ſpoyling, with all cruelty, many of our brethren every where, and ſtill the hunt is up, and they make but a matter of ſport of it. The time ſhall come, when *God ſhall laugh at their calamitie, and mock when their feare cometh*, Prov. 1.26.

Let them, while their ſport laſteth, boaſt themſelves, as if they had all ſure enough; and let them adde to their other blaſphemies, and ſay, with that proud Tyrant, in *Synefius*, [l] No man ſhall eſcape our hands, no, though he held Chriſt himſelf by the foot. [m] Let them preſume upon their ſtrength, who have nothing elſe to reſt upon: *But it is good for us to keep faſt by God*, Pſal. 73.28. not to let go our hold. As *Homer* ſaid of the walls of *Troy*; [n] Their forts and bulwarks cannot be ſtrong, that are built without God; nay, againſt him. Let us then ſtill truſt in God, and be unwearied, and undaunted in his ſervice: *Who hath delivered, and doth deliver, in whom we truſt that he will yet deliver us*, 2 Cor. 1.10.

In the next place, this muſt inſtruct us, in all our deliverances, to return praiſe, and glory, and thankes, unto the Author

[i] Εἰ ἦ θεὸν ἄνωθε τις ἐλπεται τὸ λανθάνειν ἔρδων, ἀμαρτάνει. *Pindar.*

[k] *Penitus non invenimus in ſcripturis ſanctis aliquem venatorem, piſcatores invenimus ſanctos. Hieron. in Pſal. 90. Nullum invenimus in divinarum ſerie ſcripturarum de venatoribus ſanctum. Ambr. in Pſalm. 119. Serm. 8.*

[l] Οἶδεις οὐ ἐξαιρήσεται τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας κρατήσας ἀνὴρ τῷ θείῳ *Synef. Epiſt. 58.*

[m] —*Fidant legionibus illi, perfugioq; parent reparatis mœnia muris, Nulla ſalutiferi quibus eſt fiducia Chriſti. Paulin. in Nat. S. Fœl.*

[n] —Θεὸς δ' ἀπάνευθε τετύκτο Ἀθανάτων, τὸ ἔῃ τε πολλὰ κρατύνει καὶ ῥύεται περ ἰόντα. *Iliad. μ. Vſe 2.*

thour of our helpe, and hopes. We are too ready, as thoſe fiſhermen in *Habakkuk*, *who ſacrificed to their Net, and burnt incenſe to their Dragge*, Chap. 1. 16. ſo with that Souldier in the Poet [o], to aſcribe much unto the ſword and ſpear, unto our valiant men, and to our forces. It is obſerved by that wiſe heathen [p], that this over-weening of our ſelves is a great cauſe of our ingratitude. Alas, [q] what are we if God ſhould leave us? and while he ſtands by us, what can ſtand againſt us? Mountaines of difficulties ſhall bee overturned if he put to his hand; the proudeſt enemies ſhall bee made to know and feele what folly it is to kick againſt the pricks, and [r] to contend with the *Almighty*: and therefore as we ſee and hear daily of the mightie things that God hath wrought for us, ſo let him have the glory that is due unto his Name, and let our hearts and mouths be ever filled with his praiſe.

But, (ſome may ſay) do you not forget the ſeaſon? this is not a day of gratulation or *Thanksgiving*, but of *humiliation*, and of ſeeking God by prayer. Ah, let none think theſe duties inconſiſtent, which truely I conceive ſhould never be disjoyned. We have beene taught already what grace and glory ariſeth from afflictions ſanctified. Are we then humbled under the ſorrow of them? let us be alſo thankfull for the ſolace [s] of them.

But let me intreat you further to conſider, whether we, we I ſay in particular, living in theſe parts of this diſtracted Kingdom, do not even now enjoy a great deliverance, that wee meet here in ſafety and in peace, while others are imbroiled in many dangers, either of fights or flights. How unworthy are we of ſuch enlargement of Gods mercy, if we improve it not? but moſt of all are we unworthy, if wee be ſilent in thanksgivings.

Let me adde one thing more. What if the Lord ſhould bring the line of other parts upon us, and cauſe us to pledge them in that bitter cup, whereof they have been forced to drink deep? ſhall we not yet have cauſe to praiſe him, for this his patience, and long-ſufferance? And had we but the

o — ἐκ' ἐμ' ἀφίκ-
λει Τρωσὶν θοὸς
ὄσσε· ἐμὸν δ' ἔνν.

p *Nimius ſui ſuſpectus, & inſtrum mortalitati vitium ſe, ſuaque mirandi. Sen. De Benef.* c. 26.

q — Τί γὰρ μεροπεσσιν ἄνασσεν
Νόσφι θεῶν, Opp.

r Θεῷ παρίστ' ὅπως ἄπονον πόνημ. Synes. Epiſt. 137

s Γάμοι καὶ ἀφορία δὶς ἐκ δικαίου φύσιν μαχόμενα. *Rhod. perioch. Hom.* 17.

t Γεγάμηκά μοι συμφορὰ παρὰ μικρὸν συμφοράν. *Synes. Epiſt.* 57

ſpirits of many of the Primitive Martyrs, we ſhould think our ſelves the leſſe eſteemed; in that we are reſerved amongſt the laſt of thoſe, who ſhall thus honour God, and be honoured by him, in ſuffering for his ſake. They [a] triumphed in their deaths, and accunted death, as no death; but as a benefactor to them, that preferr'd them ſpeedily to the fruition of their long deſired happineſſe. They freely thus offered their children alſo unto God, rejoycing, that they were laid ſo ſweetly, and ſo ſafely in Gods armes. They could not but remember how God dealt with *Iob*: How, after his long patience under ſore calamities, with the loſſe of his ſubſtance, the Lord was pleaſed to refreſh his wearied ſoule, *and to give him twice as much as he had before*, Iob 42.10. but yet, if you compare this *Chapter ver.* 13. with *Chapter* 1, 2. you ſhall find he had no more children given him then he had at firſt. He had great comfort in his children; why were not they doubled like wiſe? ſurely he had them double; becauſe the former were not loſt, who were lock't up ſafe in heaven.

I the rather ſpeak this; becauſe, it may be, it hath been the caſe of ſome of you already: and who knoweth how many of us may ſee our children ſacrificed in this cauſe of God, and may at length taſte of death herein our ſelves? *The will of the Lord be done.* Onely let us learn to make a right judgement of theſe things. That we call death, the Scripture call's but ſleeping: and do but mark that place, *Revel.* 20. 6. where it is ſaid: *Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection; on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power.* What is that firſt reſurrection, but the riſing from the firſt death; which is the death of ſinne? and what is the ſecond death? that we find, *verſ.* 14. *The lake of fire is the ſecond death.* Where is then that we call death? ſurely [b] it comes not in the account: For otherwiſe; that ſhould have been the ſecond, and the lake of fire had been more fitly ſtyled the third death. This then hath onely the [c] empty name of death, voyd of the thing, that is ſo dreadfull to poore fleſh and blood. Nay it is no other, then a bleſſed deliverance, and

a Θαιατώμενοι χαίρομεν, πεπίσευκότες ὅτι ἀναςήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὸν χριςὸν, καὶ ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἀδιάφθορα ποιήσει. Iuſt. Mart. πρὸς Τρύφ. *Lucius Martyr ad mortem deſignatus* χάριν εἰδέναι ὡμολόγει, πεπαῦσθαι δυσκολιῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ πλανῶν χαλεπῶν; καὶ ἐλπίδα τε πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ποιεῖσθαι. Iuſt. Mart. *Apol.* 1. Ὁ θάνατός μοι εὐπρόσιτος, καὶ ὁ δόλιος πόλεμός μοι πρὸς τὸ λαπόπλω, ὃ ζῶ καὶ πολιτεύομαι Greg. Naz.

b Οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ. *Theocr.*

c Ὄνομα μόνον ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος πρὸς μάτην ἡμῶν· ἐπεὶ μὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλ' ἡ ὕπνος, καὶ ἀναδημία, καὶ μετάςασις, καὶ ἀναπαυσις, καὶ λιμὴν ἥδιστος, καὶ περιχαρὲς ἀπαλλαγὴ, καὶ βαπτισθὲν, ἀνθρώπια φοβερὰ ἔσται. Chryſoſt. ad pop. Antioch. Ομιλ. ζ.

a joyfull reſt and freedome from all cares and troubles. *Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, yea, ſaith the Spirit, that they reſt from their labours*, Rev. 14.13. *Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his ſaints*, Pſal. 116.15. Whatſoever then the Lord is pleaſed to do for us, whatſoever with us, let us be thankfull.

The third and laſt uſe, wherewith I ſhall conclude, is for terrour to the ungodly, and ſuch as now amongſt us are enemies to his Church. Is God the Authour of deliverance to his people? then without doubt he is the Authour of deſtruction to their enemies. If to the one a wall of fire, to defend them; then to the other a conſuming fire, to deſtroy them. We need not ſeek up Scriptures for the proof of this: it is written every where, even as it were in capitall letters; or with a beame of the Sunne: he that runnes may read it, and he that is not ſtarke blind, may eaſily behold it. It is recorded in all the ſtories of the Church. Thoſe men of *Belial*, that are now in arms againſt us, that will not read the Book of God, or haply dare not; becauſe it no where prophecieth good unto them; I wiſh they would peruſe our *Eccleſiaſticall Writers*, and ſee what they find there, touching the divine vengeance, which purſued ſuch as led the way to them, and taught them this art of cruelty, and inſtructed them how to be *skilfull to deſtroy*, by their examples. Let them read the deaths, and horrid ends of *Nero*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Valerian*, *Maximinus*, *Julian*, and of many of their inſtruments, and under-miniſters, whom they ſet on work: and they ſhall finde that true, which that holy Martyr *Cyprian* wrote long ago; that [d] never did any in their wickedneſſe riſe up againſt the profeſſion of the truth, (he means, by perſecuting the profeſſours of it) but ſtraight-way vengeance from God followed them at the heeles, and overtook them. They may peradventure eſcape mans judgement, (which is that our enemies are ſo afraid of) yet the juſt avenging ſword of God cannot be avoyded; who when he comes moſt ſlowly, comes moſt ſurely and ſeverely. *It is a fearfull thing to fall into the hands of the living God*, Heb. 10.31. Let our adverſaries conſider

Uſe 3.

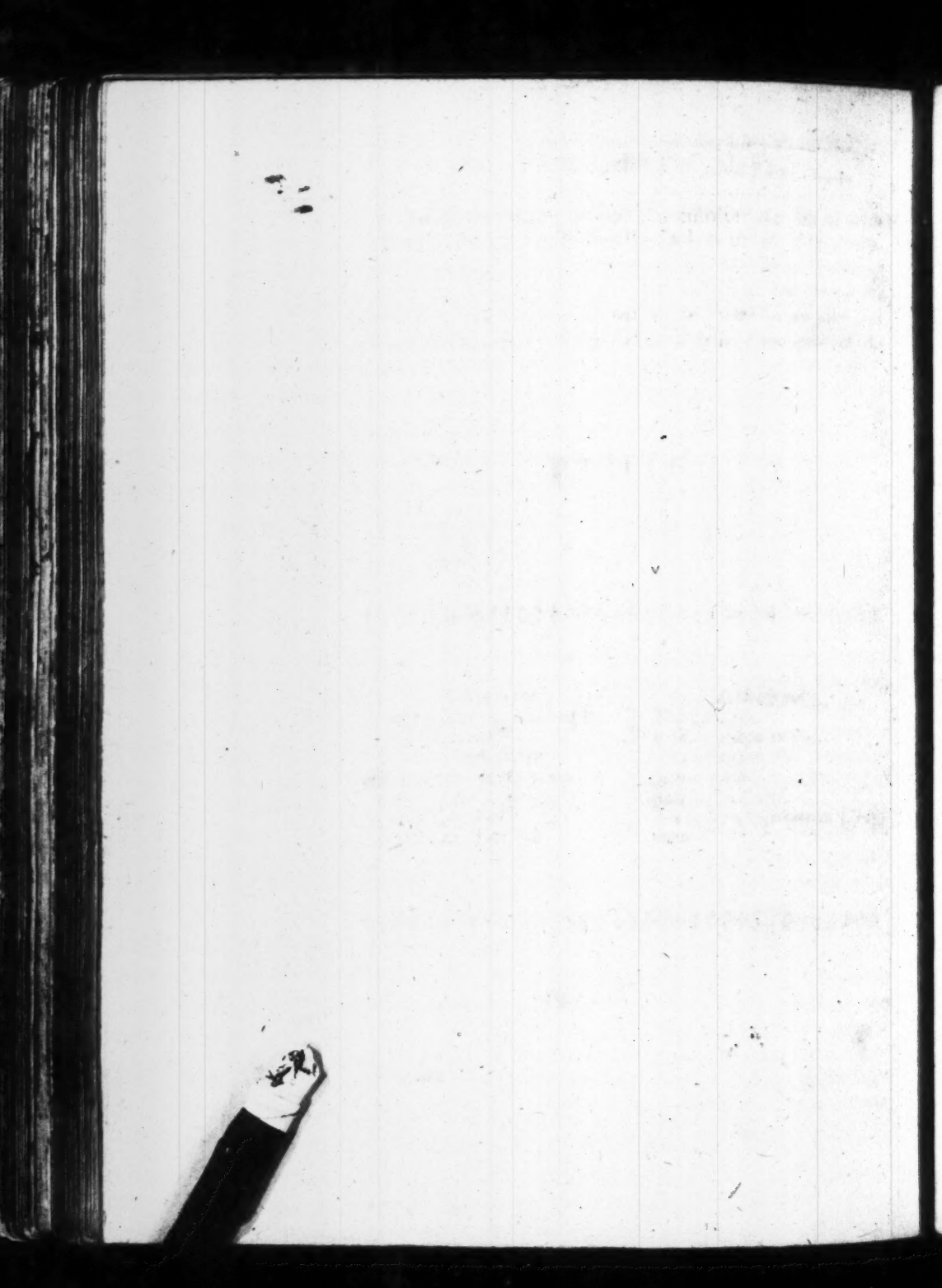
d *Nec unquam Chriſtianorum ſcelerein noſtrum nomen exurgitur, ut non ſtatim divinitus vindicta comitetur. Cyp. contr. Demetr.*

Οὐδὲ θεῦ ἀλλότριον μόλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν λαπτὸς. Adag. Δεινὸν ἐστὶ καὶ πάσχειν τὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἢ πεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζώντος. ἃ τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις. Syn. Epiſt. 35.

sider this and tremble: whilest we comfort our selves with that of the Apostle, as if directly spoken to us, *It is a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us, When the Lord Iesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty Angels*, 2 Thess. 1. 6, 7. *Even so Lord Iesus come quickly*. Amen.

FINIS.

Errata in text,	*Errata in marg.*
Page 7. line 23. read had in	Pag. 3. r. Zach.
p. 9. l. 28. r. rapt	p. 10. r. *Athen. ex Pol.*
p. 10. l. 8. r. *non. salvum*	p. 14. r. *in Cant. Mos.*
p. 11. l. 22. r. such a narrand	p. 17. r. *Isaiae*
p. 18. l. 18. r. with his	p. 27. r. *Cyr. Hieros.*
p. 31. l. 14. r. *Popish*	p. 45. for *Christianorum* r. *imperatorum*
p. 39. l. 21. r. Zarephah	



Heaven Raviſhed:

OR

A Glorious *Prize*, atchieved by an Heroicall *Enterprize*:

As it was lately Preſented

In A

SERMON

TO THE

Honourable Houſe of Commons, at their ſolemn Faſt, *May* 29. 1644.

By HENRY HALL, *B. D.* late Fellow of *Trin.* Coll. in *Cambridge.*

Printed by Order of the ſaid Houſe.

1 COR. 9.24. *Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize. So run that ye may obtaine.*

Printed by *J. Raworth*, for *Samuel Gellibrand*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne of the *Braſen-Serpent* in *Pauls-Churchyard*. 1644.

TO
The Honourable Houſe of *Commons*, now aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

I *Have offered violence to my ſelfe to ſatisfie your deſires, in Preaching firſt, and next in publiſhing, theſe weake and courſe-ſpun meditations; fitter indeede for a popular auditory then ſuch an awfull and judicious aſſembly concerning which I may fitly ſay what* Zeba *and* Zalmunna *ſometimes did of* Gideons *brethren,* each one reſembled the children of a King, *Jud.* 8. 18. *or as* Cyneas *the Embaſſador of* Pyrrhus *being asked after his return from Rome, what he thought of the City and State, made anſwere* δοκεῖν οἶκον πεπλῆσθαι βασιλέων, *the ſame may I, with better reaſon, ſay of your Honourable Senate, It ſeemed unto me to looke like a little Common-wealth of Kings. When firſt I underſtood you had deſigned me (the unfitteſt in many reſpects you could have thought upon) unto this ſolemne ſervice: I reſented it truely no otherwiſe than* Jonah *did his meſſage to* Nineveh, *with much trouble and emotion of ſpirit, not to ſay diſcontent: and as forward ſhould I have beene as he (had not a ſtrong hand of reaſon and conſcience held me backe) to flye to* Tarſus *or any whither elſe, rather then undertake the Province you had called me to: Not out of any diſaffection to the worke, or the Authority that ſummoned me to it, which I ſhall alwayes honour, and next to that of Gods, eſteeme ſacred; but being ſenſible of nothing more in all this world, then mine owne defects: and knowing well how hard a matter I finde it to ſatisfie my ſelfe, I held it impoſſible for me to bring forth ought that might ſatisfie others (eſpecially ſuch a grave Court of great Statesmen) either in the Pulpit or the Preſſe. However ſince you are pleaſed out of your ingenuity and candor, not onely to owne this worthleſſe piece, but to over value it ſo far, as to call it forth into the publique light, having nothing elſe to ſway with me, beſides the obedience I owe to your commands, I do therefore in all humility preſent it unto your honourable acceptance, ſuch as it is it glorieth to be yours, and were all the body of this ſimple diſcourſe, like* Solomons Lineæ aureæ cum punctis argenteis, Cant. 1. 11. *wrought with lines of gold and enameled with pearles, I ſhould not hold it too rich a preſent, for ſuch unparalleld Worthies, which have honoured God ſo much, and are ſo much honoured by him. Your exemplary zeale and piety, your Noble and heroicall atchicuments, for the honour of our God, and the advancement of his kingdome, hath already ſtamped for you ſuch an Impreſſion of reſpect and reverence, in the eſtimations and thoughts of all the godly, that you ſeeme to be* as the ſtones of a crown lifted up, and as an Enſigne upon our Land, Zech. 9. 16. *Go on and proſper, moſt worthy Senators, in the great worke which you have ſo happily begun, till you ſhall have fully crowned our hopes, and perfected your owne moſt glorious undertakings. Never had any Parliament either*

ther ſo glorious a prize as you have to contend for, or ſo many potent adverſaries, oppoſitions, and difficulties, to encounter with: but this may ſerve as a more then ſufficient encouragement to hearten you on, that you have a good God, a Noble Cauſe, an Honourable Reward, and what could you wiſh more? See what you have done already, and let your former, many and precious experiences of divine favour and aſſiſtance, animate you to waite upon God, with an unwearied patience, till he ſhall make all your enemies of the Synagogue of Sathan, to come and worſhip before your feete, and to know that he hath loved you. Conſider how many great and ſtupendious workes God hath already made you inſtruments to bring about. How many mighty Nimrods have you cut down? how many yoakes of oppreſſion and tyranny have you broken? how many dying Saints have you revived? The Lord hath made darkeneſſe light before you, and crooked things ſtreight, he hath levelled mountaines, and raiſed vallies; what enterprize have you taken in hand, which hath not in the Iſſue proſpered beyond your expectations? You have ſprung a myne under the walls of Babylon, unſetled the Throne of the Beaſt. Behold how the Antichriſtian faction languiſheth, the Pontificall chaire reeles, the Miters wither, the triple Crowne ſhakes: that which the Lord threatned ſometimes againſt one of the worſt of the Kings of Judah, the ſame he ſeemes to doe now againſt the great Monarch of Babylon, Remove the Diadem, take away the Crown, I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, untill he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it him, Ezek 21. 26, 27. Me thinkes I ſee the proud turrets, and battlements of Rome falling, and Sion riſing up faire as the morning, cleere as the moone, terrible as an Army with Banners. Howſoever this is certaine, God hath promiſed, and he will no doubt in due time make it good, which we have in the Prophet, Eſay 24. 23. The moone ſhall be confounded, and the Sunne aſhamed, when the Lord of Hoſts ſhall reigne in Mount Sion, and before all his ancients gloriouſly. I hope the happy time is at hand, which God hath appointed for the full working out of his Glory and our deliverance, and that this dawning of our hopes may break forth into a perfect day of joy and triumph, It is and ſhall be the earneſt and conſtant prayer of

Your moſt unworthy Servant
in the worke of Chriſt,
HEN: HALL.

MATTH. 11. 12.

And from the dayes of John *the Baptist untill now, the Kingdom of the heavens ſuffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.*

THis Text is not entire of it ſelf, but linked in neceſſary connexion with that which went before, for clearing whereof we may borrow light at the next doore: If we pleaſe to go back a little and take the advantage of a run, the coherence will ſhew that our Saviour having in the former chapter choſen the 12. Apoſtles, and ſent them out to Preach in the Cities of *Jury*, here in the beginning of this he goes himſelf about the ſame errand, to preach the Goſpell in the Cities of *Galilee*, for ſo the current of Interpretors carrieth the ſence of thoſe words, *verſ.* 1. *He departed thence to Teach and to Preach in their Cities*, referring it to the Apoſtles who were all or moſt of them of *Galilee*. The promulgation of the glad tydings of the Kingdom of heaven, now ready to be revealed, it was a matter of that grand importance and generall concernment unto all, that our Saviour thought fit to diſperſe himſelf and his Apoſtles ſeverall wayes, that all the Cities and parts of the land might with more conveniencie be ſummoned to take notice of it.

Pareus in loc. Cor. a lapide in loc. & alii complures.

John the Baptiſt, he had indeed awakened the people as with the ſound of a Trumpet, and ſtirred them up to a generall expectation of the *Meſſias* his comming, but yet many of them remained in ſuſpence, and were not ſo well ſatisfied about the perſon of the *Meſſias*, whether *John* himſelf or *Jeſus* was He, as appeares *Luk.* 3. 15.

3. 15. This ſcruple was neceſſary to be cleared, and therefore *John* being caſt into priſon, and now neere unto his Martyrdom, he diſpatcheth out two of his Diſciples in an Embaſſy unto Chriſt, to know of him whether he was ὁ ἐρχόμενος that grand Redeemer of *Iſrael*, ſo much deſired and ſo long expected, or whether they ſhould look for ſome other, *verſ.* 2. 3.

Juſtin Martyr. 2. quæſt. ad Orthodoxos. Tert. Contra Marc. lib. 4. c. 14.

It was not out of any doubt that *John* himſelf had (as ſome Ancients have thought) that he ſent unto Chriſt this meſſage, for the Oracle from heaven had ſatisfied him in this, and He others, *John* 1. 32, 33. &c. But it was out of a pious deſire to imform and ſettle his Diſciples who were not yet ſo well reſolved in that matter, as *Chryſoſtom* and other Interpreters Ancient and Modern have obſerved. Our Saviour therefore having at that time, as appeares by another paralell place, wrought ſundry miracles in healing the ſick, cleanſing the Lepers, raiſing the dead, he returnes this anſwer, *verſ.* 4, 5, 6. *Go and ſhew unto Iohn what things you have heard and ſeen*, implying fairely, that ſuch divine words and works, carried light and conviction enough along with them, to bewray the Author of them, and that he were little other than a miracle of unbeleef, whom ſuch great wonders and miracles could not move.

Luk. 7. 22.

Hereupon the Diſciples of *Iohn* being ſent away with their anſwer, he turnes his ſpeech to the multitude, and gives out a large and ample teſtimony unto *Iohn*, commending him greatly for his perſonall vertues, and his High Office, and the ſingular effect and fruit thereof, *verſ.* 7, 8, 9, 10 11, 12.

First, for his perſonall vertues he was a man of a grave ſpirit, of a conſtant and wel-ſetled Judgment, not wavering and reeling to and fro, like a reede ſhaken with the wind in which is no ſtedfaſtneſſe; for howſoever the people might haply think by occaſion of this meſſage, that *Iohn* after his impriſonment might change his minde and not retaine the ſame opinion of Chriſt which he had before, yet our Saviour cleares him from any umbrage of ſuch a ſuſpition by that *quære* which he puts forth to the multitude, *verſ.* 7. *What went ye out into the Wilderneſſe to ſee?* intimating that they could not in reaſon ſuppoſe that Camell-hayred Prophet, haunting the Wilderneſſe, to be ſuch a fickle, humorous, and deſultory temporizer as thoſe ſmooth ſilken Chaplains are wont to be, that are in the Courts and Palaces of Princes.

John 1. 19. and v. 34. & cap. 3. 28.

2. He extolls his Office and Function, he being not onely a Prophet

phet but much more then a Prophet, *v.* 9. The ancient Prophets they ſaw Chriſt a far off. but *Iohn* ſaw him face to face; they foreſhewed his comming, but *John* was his harbinger and immediate fore-runner, that pointed him out with his finger, ſaying, *this is he*, in which reſpect our Saviour rankes him above the chiefe of Prophets, and makes him the greateſt meere man that ever was born of a woman, and yet withall gives a prerogative of excellencie to the meaneſt Officer in the Kingdom of heaven above him, *verſ.* 11. which muſt not be underſtood of inherent holineſſe or perſonall grace (for in that reſpect the ordinary miniſters of the Goſpell are much inferiour unto *Iohn*) but it is to be interpreted of their more honourable Office and Function, in which they go beyond *Iohn*, and excell him as far as he did the former Prophets, it being a received maxim,* that he that is *leaſt* in a greater Order, is greater than the *greateſt* of a leſſer Order; as in the Schools, he that hath proceeded a maſter in the Arts, though but an Inceptor and of the lateſt Edition, is above the higheſt Batchelours; and the meaneſt Knight above the greateſt Eſquire.

* *Minimus maximi eſt major maximo minimi.*

3. But the principall commendation of *Iohn* and the faireſt flower in all his garland is taken from the ſingular effect and force of his miniſtery, it being not dull and ſluggiſh, but lively and powerfull in operation upon the conſciences of men, and crowned with a more then ordinary ſucceſſe and fruit, and that is preſented unto us in the Text now in hand; *From the dayes of Iohn the Baptiſt untill now, the Kingdom of Heaven ſuffereth violence, &c.*

The words then hold out unto us a glorious Spectacle, a goodly ſight well worth the beholding, and that is the Kingdom of heaven raviſhed; or if you will here's a Noble prize atchieved by an honourable and heroicall enterprize, together with the condition and ſucceſſe of the enterprizers, and the period and date of all this.

1. The Noble prize to be atchieved is the Kingdom of Heaven. 2. The honourable and heroicall enterprize is to invade and ſeize upon this Kingdom. 3. The condition and quality of the enterprizers, they are not remiſſe and ſlack, but eager and violent. 4. The Iſſue and ſucceſſe of the enterprizers, they prevaile in their deſign and take the Kingdom by force. 5. The period or date from which this violence begins, and how long it continues, *from the dayes of Iohn the Baptiſt untill now*. *Johns* miniſtery was but of a few dayes and of a ſhort continuance, but he kindled in that ſhort time ſuch

a light of knowledge, and ſuch a flame of affection in the hearts of men, as no oppoſition could put out, but it continued like the morning ſtar, ſtill blazing and glowing more and more till Chriſt came the Sun of righteouſneſſe, and he with his Apoſtles was ſo far from quenching the ſmoaking flax, that taking the Lamp out of *Johns* hands, he blew it up to a greater height, and made it burn more cleer and bright.

And from Chriſts time to the end of the world, whereſoever the Goſpell is preached, which is the miniſtery of the Spirit, diſcovering glorious things in the Kingdom of heaven, and working mighty impreſſions upon the conſciences of men by meanes of ſuch diſcoveries, there will be violence offered and reſolute attempts and enterprizes taken in hand, for the atchieving and compaſſing of thoſe glorious things.

Theſe are the parts of this Text, all fraught with precious and choyce materialls; I ſhall endeavour firſt ἀνεσχιάζειν to top theſe ſheaves and to beat out the meaning of the ſeverall parts, and then we ſhall the better come to reape from them ſuch fruits of Inſtruction as they will afford.

I begin with the firſt particular propounded, The glorious prize here held out, which is the Kingdom of heaven; and to omit the various uſe of the notion (if yet it be taken at all in a various uſe) for I rather hold with the Judicious *Cameron*, that it imports alwayes one and the ſame thing, even the Kingdom of Chriſt the mediator over the Church and people of the *New Teſtament*, with the preaching of the Goſpell and the other Ordinances of Evangelicall and Chriſtian worſhip which properly belong thereunto.

Cam. prælect. in Mat. c. 18. v. 1. Regnum Cælorum unum & idem ſignificat in ſcriptura nempe regnum Chriſti, quod & regnum Dei dicitur ſive ſtatum & conditionem Eccleſiæ quæ proprie Chriſtiana dicitur.

There is firſt a Kingdom of power and providence which Chriſt hath, as God over all the world; Angels, and men, and devils, being put in ſubjection under him, and of this the Prophet ſpeakes, *Pſal.* 102. *v.* 19. *The Lord hath prepared his Throne in heaven, and his Kingdom ruleth over all*, this is not meant here.

2. There is a Kingdom of Grace, which Chriſt as Mediator exerciſed in a more eſpeciall and peculiar manner, over the Church and Common-wealth of the *Jewes*, before the time of his Incarnation and comming into the world; for even the *Jewes* as well as we, were unto God a Kingdom of Prieſts and an holy Nation, *Exod.* 19. 5. and the Lord was their King, Judge, and Lawgiver,

vid. *Iud.* 8. 23. 1 Sam. 1. 7. &c. 2 Sam. 12. 12.

Eſay,

Eſay 33. 22. and *Salomon*, after *David* his Father, is ſaid to raign over *Iſrael* ſitting upon the thron of Jah, 1 *Chron.* 29 23. and hence as one of the Ancients * well obſerves out of *Joſephus*, The Politick State and form of Government among the *Jewes*, It was neither a Monarchy, nor an Ariſtocracy, nor a Democracy, but a Theocracy or Divine Government, the Son of God being in that Common-wealth Commander in Chief, and ordering all things therein according to his own will.

Chriſt therefore reigned over the *Jewes* as mediator many hundreds of yeeres before he was born of the Virgin Mother, the Kingdom and government even then was upon his ſhoulders, yet you ſhall never finde throughout all the whol Scripture, that State and manner of Chriſts Raign over the Church of the Old Teſtament called The Kingdom of Heaven, and the principall reaſon ſeemes to be this, becauſe the whol policy and form of it, was Typicall and Ceremoniall, all things being carried then in clouds and ſhadows and myſticall prefigurations of good things to come, the truth and ſubſtance whereof was not yet exhibited and revealed.

Hence the Apoſtle ſhuns not to call the Jewiſh Tabernacle, *a Worldly Sanctuary*, *Heb.* 9. 1. and their Ordinances and rites of Worſhip, *carnall Ordinances*, impoſed onely untill the time of reformation, *verſ.* 10. the like cenſure he is bold to paſſe upon their ſacrifices and offerings, They were only patterns and * figures of things in the heavens, and not the heavenly things themſelves, *verſ.* 23. the people alſo were in compariſon of the Chriſtian Church, a carnall people, and the whole œconomy and frame of their Religion, worſhip, and government, was to be ſhaken and removed, as with an earth-quake, at Chriſts comming, *Hel.* 12. 27. * therefore that pollicy and ceremoniall forme of Church adminiſtration, was not fit to be called by ſo high and glorious a Title, *The Kingdom of heaven.*

But now in the dayes and by the miniſtery of *John* the Baptiſt the Leviticall Pædagogie, with all the carnall rudiments and umbrages of it, began to wax old, and to weare out of date; another manner of Church State much more ſpirituall, entring then upon the Stage and comming in by degrees in the roome of it, which therefore in the New Teſtament is commonly called, The Kingdom of heaven. *

* *Euſebius præp. Evan. lib.* 8. ὁτι μὲν μοναρχίας οἱ δὲ τὰς ὀλιγωνδυναδυν ἀριστοκρατείας ἄλλοι δὲ τινὲς πλήθεσιν ἐπέτρεψαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἥν πολιτευμάτων ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης —— ὡς αὐτὸς θεοπροβιαστόμωθ τὸν λόγον θεοκρατίαν ἀπεδείξε τὸ πολίτευμα θεῶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθεὶς.

* ὑποδείγματα καὶ σκιᾶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.

* *Vid. Eſtium & Cor. a lapide in loc.*

The mother place in Scripture from which this notion was derived is *Dan.* 2. 44. *In the dayes of thoſe Kings the God of heaven ſhall ſet up a Kingdom which ſhall never be deſtroyed, &c.* this paſſage *Aben-Ezra* and the Jewiſh Rabbins do generally interpret, as *Cameron* obſerves, of the *Meſſias* his Kingdom, which they were wont to call βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν מלכות השמים the Kingdome of heaven. * The denomination is not taken as is commonly thought, from the ſubject or place of reſidence, but from the efficient rather, for with them in their Dialect, the Kingdom of the *Meſſias*, or Son of God, and the Kingdom of the heavens are termes of promiſcuous uſe as they are alſo in Scripture, compare *Mat.* 70. 7. with *Luke* 10. 9. and you ſhall finde that which in the former place is called the Kingdom of heaven, in the latter is the Kingdom of God, the difference in the thing it ſelf being none at all, but onely in the ſound of words.

But now this Evangelicall ſtate of the Chriſtian Church, called the Kingdom of heaven, it is either Militant or Triumphant, the State of Grace or the State of Glory, which for kinde and nature are both one, and differ but onely in degrees; for the State of grace what is it elſe but glory begun: the way to the Kingdom is not without ſome firſt fruits of the Kingdom, ſaith * *Bernard.* And the State of glory on the other ſide, what is it elſe but grace fully perfect and conſummate. It is the former of theſe which is here principally meant, to wit, the Militant Eſtate of the Chriſtian Church, in which men are brought to live under the gracious and milde government of Chriſt; their minds being inlightned, guided, and powerfully moved and over-ruled. 1. To repent of all their ſins, and then, 2. To accept of the pardon and remiſſion of them in ſuch ſort as it is offered in the tenor of the New Covenant. 3. To render back as a Tribute of thankfulneſſe a free, cheerfull, univerſall and conſtant obedience to all the revealed Will of God.

The next thing to be cleered is how this Kingdom may be ſaid to ſuffer violence? And here Interpretors varie, I ſhall give a touch of their ſeverall deſcantings. It may be the very diſcords will help to make the Muſick better and the harmony more pleaſing; the ſum of all or moſt of the tendries I have met with, is reducible to theſe three heads. The violence here ſpoken of may be taken either as it is oppoſed, 1. To Nature, 2. To Juſt and right, or 3. As it is oppoſed to temper and moderation.

First,

* *Druſius præt. in* Luc. 15. 18. *peccavi in cælum* i.e. *in deum nam* שמים *unum eſſe ex nominibus dei ſciunt omnes qui illam linguam callent.*

Lucæ 20. 4. *Baptiſmus Joh. dicitur eſſe e cælo. i. a Deo. ſive divinitus.*

Scitum eſt illud apud Hebræos ſit Reverentia præceptoris tui ſicut reverentia cæli: & illud qui venit ut ſe mundet, adiuvant eum de cælo.

Sic apud Latinos cælo gratiſſimus omnis.

* *Non eſt via ad regnum ſine primitiis regni.*

First it may be taken as oppoſed to that which is according to Nature: the Philoſophers are wont to diſtinguiſh of motion thus, That it is either naturall or violent; naturall motion ſprings from naturall principles, and tends to naturall objects and ends, but the motion, ſaith *Hierome* of theſe enterprizers was not ſuch, but violent and ſtrained in reſpect of its principles, object, and end. It was in all theſe beyond the ſpheare and compaſſe of nature: thoſe that were by nature born men of an elementary conſtitution, being upon the matter little other then muſhromes ſprung out of the earth, were tranſported with a more then generous affectation to become Angels, and their ambition was ſo tranſcendent and ſupernaturall that nothing could ſatisfie them under heaven, and this ſeemed to be ſuch an extream violence againſt the common courſe and ſtrain of nature; as if fiſhes ſhould affect to leave their watery Element to live in the earth, or as if Camels, and Elephants ſhould ſtrive to leave the earth, and go live and ſwim in the Sea.

1. *Grandis eſt violentia in terra nos eſſe genitos & cœlorum ſedem quærere Hieron. in loc.*

Qui homo natus eſt angelus eſſe deſiderat & terrenum animal cœleſte quærit habitaculum Hier. ad Algaſiam, Epiſt. 151.

2. But this Interpretation it ſelf is judged by ſome to be too much forced and violent, and therefore *Ambroſe* and *Hillary* take violence here, as oppoſed to juſt and right.* We are wont you know to call them violent who invade and ſeize upon that by force, which they have no good right nor title unto, as theeves and robbers do by the high way. In like manner the Gentiles, ſay theſe Authors, who had no right unto the Kingdom of Heaven (for they were ſtrangers from the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, aliens from the Covenants of promiſe, without God and without hope in the world) yet they came thronging and crowding in howſoever: whether they had any good tenure or no *quo jure quaque Injuriâ*, they came according to our Saviours prediction, from the Eaſt and from the Weſt, and from the North, and from the South, and ſeated themſelves in the Kingdome of God, whiles the Jewes which were *the children of the Kingdom were caſt out of doores*, Luk. 13.28, 29. *Rapuit Eccleſia regnum*, a Synagogue ſaith *Ambroſe*, the Jewes being *Abrahams* children thought this kingdom to be an inheritance due unto them onely, in reſpect of their lineall deſcent and propagation from their Anceſtors, but the Gentiles came by force and ſhouldered them out, and took all their Ancient rights and Priviledges from them. This expoſition carries ſmoothneſſe and concinnity enough with it, and might well be admitted were it not that it antedates a little too ſoone the converſion of the Gentiles.

* *Id dicitur violentum quod eſt contra fas & jus. Gloſſa ſic exponit Regnum Dei Chriſti merito juſtitiaque expugnatum peccatoribus in prædam datur, adeo ut illi id occupent qui eo indigniſſimi ſunt ſicut raptores alieno labore parta per libidum occupant. &c.*

tiles who ſprung not in with ſuch violence nor in ſuch numbers and multitudes, till after the dayes of *John* the Baptiſt in whoſe time yet this violence began.

Hi ſunt qui per vim irrumpunt ac veluti Januam fracturi urgent. Adeo avidi ſunt ut nulla vi abſtrahi poſſint ſed potius moriuntur quam abſtrahuntur ab Evangelio. Luth. *in loc. ſic plerique alii.*

3. Therefore the more received, and as I think the more judicious interpretation of this violence here takes it as oppoſed to temper and moderation, for ſo in moralls we account them violent who are not dull and ſluggiſh, but earneſt and ſerious in their work, warm and zealous in their purſuite, impetuous and reſolute in their undertakings, and ſuch was the diſpoſition of many people in *Johns* dayes, they were ſo bent and ſet upon the Kingdom of heaven, that no difficulties or diſcouragements could take them off, they would have a ſhare whatſoever it coſt them. As Souldiers when they lye before a beſieged City, they ſet to their long ladders and Scale the walls, and when they are got in they flye upon the ſpoyl, and ſeize upon what ever comes next to hand; ſo was the courſe of theſe violent ones. The Kingdom of heaven was no ſooner opened, but they ſprung in and took hold of this glorious prize, and carried all away before them with maine force.

But there is yet another Interpretation of this place given by *Melanction*, which though it lye a little out of the common rode, and is not much, nor ſo far as I can finde, at all taken notice of by others, yet it ſeemes to me very conſiderable and worthy of due regard, as well as any of the former: the ſum of his notion, to give you an account of it in a word, it is grounded upon the proper ſignification and common uſe of the word βιάζεται which in all ſorts of Authors is for the moſt part taken in the active, and but ſeldom and very ſparingly in the paſſive, and if you pleaſe thus to take it here, the ſenſe will run cleer and ſmooth to this effect, from the dayes of *John* the Baptiſt untill now, *regnum cælorum vi ingruit vi irrumpit*, the kingdom of heaven breakes in by force. As the ſun though it may be over-caſt with a dark cloud, yet the beames of it will at laſt break out, or as a mighty violent flood or winter torrent, though it meete with many obſtructions to dam up its courſe, yet it will burſt through and flow over them; ſo the kingdom of heaven howſoever there were oppoſitions raiſed to obſtruct the paſſages and proceedings of it, yet it violently ruſhed in bearing down all reſiſtance, removing all rubs, and raigning over all impediments that lay in the way of it.

Regnum cælorum vi irrumpit, venit vi non quod Chriſtus vi occupet imperia ſicut Alexander *ſed potentia divina erumpit contra furores diabolorum & tyrannorum, &c.* Melanc. *in loc.*

This Expoſition hath nothing forced nor ſtrained in it, it agreeth well

well with that native force and common uſe of the word, and there is another paralell place *Luk.* 16.16. which much favoureth this ſence, *From the dayes of Iohn the Baptiſt untill now, the Kingdom of heaven is preached, and every one preſſeth into it*: the word is the ſame there and here, and I know no reaſon of any force why the Active ſignification of it may not be admitted here as well as there; the places being parallell, its probable enough that one and the ſame line of Interpretation may ſerve them both.

Beſides the currant uſe of the word in this ſenſe among other Authors, the *Septuagint* as far as I can finde, takes it alwayes thus; to wave other places for the preſent, that in *Exod.* 19. 24 is full and punctuall for this, εἰ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ λαὸς μὴ βιαζέσθωσαν ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Let not the Prieſts and people break through to come up unto God; and the next clauſe to the Text (for the Law and the Prophets were untill *Iohn*) fairely admits, if not requires this conſtruction; his Miniſtry being the common bound-ſtone betwixt the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian Church, the limits from which the Law and the Prophets took their concluſion, and the Goſpell and Kingdome of Chriſt its commencement and inauguration.

Vid Septuagint in Gen. 19 3. & cap. 33. 11. & *Judicum* cap 19.7. *Sic Tert. vocat Johannem Limitem conſtitutum inter vetera & nova ad quem definerett Judaiſmus & a quo inciperet Chriſtianiſmus. lib.* 4 *cont. Mar. vid.* Ireneus *lib.* 4. c. 8.

However becauſe I delight not to to recede from the beaten tract, unleſſe it be upon urgent neceſſity, therefore chooſe whether ſence you pleaſe, the difference will not be materiall in reſpect of the obſervations ariſing hence, which before I enter upon, there is yet one thing more to be explained in a word or two, and that is, Why from the dayes of *Iohn* the Baptiſt this Kingdome of the heavens doth thus violently come in, or if you reliſh the former notion better, Why it ſuffered ſuch violence in his dayes more then in former times.

The Reaſons are 1. Becauſe the Law and the Prophets were in force untill thoſe dayes, and then upon the expiring of that diſpenſation, *Johns* miniſtery, with the Goſpell and Kingdome of Chriſt, like time and the motion of the heavens took beginning together at one and the ſame inſtant; therefore the Evangeliſt hath coupled them both together, *Mar.* 1. 1, 2, 3. and S. *Peter* hath done the like, *Act.* 10. 37. *The Word you know which was publiſhed through all Judea, beginning at Galilee, after the Baptiſme which Iohn Preached. Johns* Miniſtery it was you ſee preparatory and introductive unto Chriſt, the whole deſigne of his Preaching and Baptiſme was to diſcover Chriſt, and to make him manifeſt unto

Iſrael, Iohn 1. 31. His preaching being in the Spirit and power of *Elias* tended unto this, *to make ready a people prepared for the Lord, Luke* 1. 17. and his Baptiſme being a ſummons to *repentance for the remiſſion of ſins, Mar.* 1. 4. did manifeſtly pre-ingage the people to beleeve in him that ſhould come after him, that is, on Chriſt Jeſus, *Acts* 19. 4. Now the goſpell being preached, which is the word of the Kingdom, it never returnes back without ſucceſſe, but like a draw-net when it is let down, ſome or other are caught and converted unto Chriſt by it.

Omnia prius fugebant ſub miniſterio Scribarum & phariſæorum Muſc. in loc.

2. *Johns* miniſtery was mighty and powerfull, above the proportion of former times: the people lived under ſhadowes and dark clouds before, which caſt forth but little light and yeelded leſſe heate, their hearts were as cold and frozen as yce, under the Miniſtery of the Phariſees and Scribes, but *Iohn was a burning and ſhining light, Ioh.* 5. 35. His Doctrin and converſation kindled a light of knowledge and an heat of zeal in the hearts and conſciences of men, which drew them to Chriſt with much violence.

3. When *Iohn* had once begun this courſe, ſoone after, our Saviour with his twelve Apoſtles and 70. Diſciples came after him advancing and carrying on the work to a greater height and progreſſe, and look how far *Johns* miniſtery excelled all that went before, ſo far did the miniſtery of our Saviour and his followers excell and go beyond him, both in reſpect of a more cleer manifeſtation of glorious truths, and alſo in reſpect of a more forcible operation upon the conſciences of men.

And now having rubbed out theſe eares of Corne, come we in the next place to reap from them ſuch fruits of inſtruction as they will afford; the points ariſing hence are foure. 1. *That the Church and people of the New Teſtament, is the Kingdom of heaven.* 2. *Where it pleaſeth God to raiſe up choyce and precious Inſtruments to Preach the Goſpell* (as he did here) *there the Kingdome of Chriſt will forcibly come in, and numbers will as forcibly preſſe and throng into it, though there be never ſo much oppoſition againſt it.* 3. *Thoſe that would have a ſhare in this Kingdome, they muſt not be dull and remiſſe, but earneſt and violent in their purſuit.* 4. *All thoſe, and onely thoſe, which are thus earneſt and violent, ſhall prevaile in their deſign, and carry the prize which they are ſo eager for.*

For the firſt of theſe, *That the Church and people of the New Teſtament, is the Kingdom of heaven*; This is coucht in the Text and implyed

implyed onely as a ground, and therefore to inſiſt upon it at large would be a little impertinent. I ſhall therefore hint you to ſome reaſons for this manner of denomination and ſo paſſe it over.

First, therefore the Church of the New Teſtament is called *The Kingdom of heaven*, becauſe in the Church, and in it onely the * Heavens govern, and that not onely in a generall way of power and providence, for ſo is all the world under that government: *Nebuchadnezzer* when he had been ſchooled by grazing 7. yeeres among the bruits, he came to ſee this cleerly, that *the heavens do rule*, *Dan.* 4. 26. But the Church is under the rule and government of the heavens in another manner then the world is. God raignes over the world onely in a Providenciall way, ordering and diſpoſing all things according to his ſecret Councell; but he raignes over the Church according to his own hearts deſire, by the Scepter of his Word and Spirit: looke upon which you will, of all the States and Governments in the world, even thoſe that are moſt exactly ordered according to the rules of Civill Policy, Juſtice and prudence, and you ſhall finde that they are but men at the beſt, and often worſe then men, beaſts and ſometimes worſe than beaſts, devils that beare all the rule and carry all the ſtroak.

The foure great Monarchies which have been ſo glorious in the world, would you know what Emblem the Holy Scripture ſets them forth by *Dan.* 7. 17. They are foure great beaſts which ariſe out of the Earth, and to the laſt beaſt of this litter, the worſt of all the former, though in outward reſpects the moſt glorious, the Dragon reſigned his power, and his Throne and great authority, *Rev.* 13. 2. S. *Auguſtin* is in the right for this *Magna Regna*, *Magna latrocinia*, the great Kingdomes of the world, what are they elſe in plain Engliſh but Tabernacles of Robbers, dens of Lyons, and mountaines of Leopars, *Job* 12. 6. *Cant.* 4. 8. *Copernicus* his conceit is here no paradox, the earth mooves and the heavens are at a ſtand, the Wiſdome, the Councell, the Policy, and Intereſts of the Earth, turne all the ſpheares, move all the Engins, and do all in all; but the Wiſdome, the Councell, the Policie and Intereſts of heaven ſtand ſtill, and ſtrike never a ſtroke, carries no ſway at all. But in the Church its otherwiſe, there the Lord alone raignes in a peculiar manner, and *his Will is done in earth as it is in heaven*, &c. that is the princiall reaſon, others are of inferiour remark which I ſhall briefly glyde over.

* *Scitum eſt quod Judei narrant de R. Simeon F. Jochai, cum ille videret accipitrem aviculis inſidias ſtruentem audivit vocem cœlitus delapſam in hæc verba. Sine Cœlis (i. e. ſine deo) ne una quidem avis capta eſt aucupio quanto minus tot & tot animæ filiarum hominum. Lud. Capell. Spicileg. ex Bereſhith. Rabba. Sect. 79.*

2. The Church is the *kingdom of heaven*, becauſe the Prince that commands there, is the Lord from heaven, * *The ſtone cut out of the mountaine without hands*, heavenly, in reſpect of his extraction and originall, as being ſprung from the boſome of his Father, by an eternall and ineffable generation; and from the womb of his Mother by a Divine and miraculous conception, without any concurrence or help of man; and heavenly to, in reſpect of his Inauguration and entrance into his Kingdome, which was neither by popular Election, which courſe he declined *John* 6. 15. nor by ſucceſſion, for his Kingdome reſts ſolely in his own hands, and never did nor can paſſe from predeceſſour to ſucceſſor; nor yet by conqueſt or force of Armes as other Princes enter. Chriſt waved all theſe wayes, and came into his Throne by an Ordinance from heaven, *Dan.* 7. 13. 14. When *Peter* drew his ſword he commanded him to put it up, *For my Kingdome* (ſaith he) *is not of this world*, its *in this world*, but not *of this world*, the prime ſource and originall of it is not from hence, *John* 18. 36.

* Dan. 2. 45. 1 Cor. 15. 47.

3. The firſt planting, eſtabliſhing, and the continuall advancement and propagation of this Kingdome, proceeds not from any councell, policy, or ſtrength of the world, but from the Wiſedome and Power of God. It is God alone, and no other, *That plants the heavens, and layes the foundation of the Earth, and ſaith unto Sion, Thou art my people, Eſay* 5. 16. As they ſay of *Thebes*, That it was built by the ſound of *Amphions* harpe, ſo its true much more of the Church and Kingdome of God, it was built by the Fiſhermen of *Galilee*, and not any other way, but onely by the preaching of the Goſpell, *Micah* 7. 11. *In the day that thy walls ſhall be built the Decree ſhall be far removed*, which *Piſcator* Interprets thus, *longe latiſq; propagalitur Evangelium*; the Goſpell ſhall be propaged far and wide all the world over.

Piſc. in locum.

4. In reſpect of the Subjects who are not of this world, but ſevered and ſeparated from it. 1. By an heavenly Election, *They are the Congregation of the firſt born, whoſe names are enrolled in heaven, Heb.* 12 23. And 2. They are taken and bought from the earth, by a ſpeciall work of Redemption, *out of every Country, and Kindred, and People, and Nation, Revel.* 59. and *cap.* 14. 3, 4. 3. They are ſingled out from others by a powerfull converſion, upon which ground they are ſaluted, *Holy brethren partakers of the heavenly calling, Heb.* 3 1. And 4. Their trading and traffique is not for the things

things of this world, *but their converſation is in heaven*, Phil. 3 20. 5. Their inheritance and portion is not in the earth, for here they are but ſtrangers and pilgrims out of their own Country, but they have an *inheritance immortall, undefiled reſerved in the heavens for them*, 1 Pet. 1. 4. In theſe and divers other reſpects the Saints which are members of the Church, though they live in the earth, yet they are accounted in Scripture, the Citizens and Inhabitants of heaven. Dan. 8. 10.

5. The Lawes and Ordinances which the Church is governed by, are all extracts taken from an heavenly originall, copies and draughts derived from the Pattern in the Mount, as *Moſes* Tabernacle, and *Solomons* Temple, were ἡ σκηνὴ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἔστιν αὐτύπωμα. The Church of God, ſaith *Nazianzen*, which is the inferiour Tabernacle and Houſe of God here below, it is in all its inſtitutions, rites, and Ordinances, commenſurable to its pattern and prototipe for the heavenly Tabernacle which is above. 1 Chron. 28. 12. 19. Heb. 8. 5. *Umbra in lege Imago in Evangelio, veritatis in cælo* Ambroſ.

6. The Acts and adminiſtrations of the Church, if they be ſuch as they ſhould be, divine and Spirituall, they ſent not of the earth, breathe not of the world, but the whole ſavour and reliſh of them is heavenly; when the Word is Preached, it is not the Wiſdome and Spirit of man, *but the Lord from heaven that ſpeakes*, *Heb.* 12. 25. *Mat.* 10. 20. And the Apoſtle tels us likewiſe, that when men Prophecy, there is ſuch a demonſtration of divine power, that unbeleevers comming in are convinced by it, ſaying, *God is in you of a truth*, 1 Cor. 14 25. The like may be ſayd of prayer, its the Spirit that muſt frame every requeſt, and indite every Petition, if it be according to Gods Will, *Rom.* 8 27. So the execution of Church cenſures, and generally all Church adminiſtrations they are not ſuch as they ſhould be, if they carry not with them a certaine perfume as it were, or odor of heaven.

This may ſuffice for the firſt point, I defer the Uſe of it till I have done with the next; which is this, *Where the Lord raiſeth up choyce Inſtruments to Preach the Goſpell, as he did here in the dayes of Iohn and of our Saviour, there the Kingdom of heaven comes in amaine, and multitudes take hold of it.* For the proof of this, ſee the truth of it in cleer predictions and prophecies, foretelling that it ſhould be ſo, *Eſay* 2. 1, 2, 3. *It ſhall come to paſſe in the latter dayes, that the Mountaine of the Lords houſe ſhall be lifted up* (not onely on the Mount Mariah at Jeruſalem) *but on the top of the Mountaines, and all*

all nations (not the Jews only ſhall flow unto it; but how ſhall this be brought about) *the Law of the Lord ſhall go out of Sion, and the Word of the Lord out of Jeruſalem, and then he ſhall rule among the Nations.* If the Goſpell be preached, the Kingdome of God will advance and get ground among all the Nations of the world.

Populus ſumme voluntarius ſic Piſc. in loc.

The like Propheey we have *Pſal.* 110. 2. 3. When Chriſt ſends out his Goſpell, which is that rod of his power, out of *Sion, he will then be ruler in the midſt of his enemies, In the day when he ſends out his Armies* (to wit of Apoſtles and Prophets) *His people ſhall be a willing people*, or as ſome Interpretors turn it, they *ſhall be all voluntiers in the beauty of his holineſſe, and the dew of his youth* (that is, the multitudes of children that ſhall be born unto him) *ſhall be as numerous as drops of dew in a ſpring or ſummers morning.*

2. See the reall performances and accompliſhment of theſe Prophecies. In the firſt dawning of the Goſpell, when the ſtate of the Jewiſh Church was exceeding corrupt, even then by the preaching of *Iohn* great numbers of people came over unto Chriſt, and by Solemn Baptiſme took the oath of allegeance unto him, *Mat.* 3. 5, 6. And the Miniſtery of Chriſt and his Apoſtles was yet more effectuall, their diligence was ſuch, that they *went through every City and Village preaching and ſhewing the glad tydings of the Kingdome of God, Luk.* 8. 1. *And the people flocked after them in ſuch multitudes that they trode one upon another, Luke* 12. 1. And they were ſo eager and violent for the Kingdom of God, that they came by break of day to ſeek Chriſt in the deſert *and they layd hold of him that he ſhould not depart from them, Luk.* 4. 42. And the ſucceſſe of thoſe endeavours was ſuch, that *Satan fell from heaven like lightning, Luke* 10. 18.

Mark. 9. 1. *Sic interpritantur illum locum Cal. Beza Bucer. Toſſ.* οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις προσώποις ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς.

All this came to paſſe whiles the Goſpell and Kingdom of Chriſt was yet pent up as it were in a corner, & confined only to the *Jews*; but after that Chriſt was once by his Aſcention lifted up unto heaven, *then he drew all men after him*, John 12. 32. then was fulfilled, and not before as ſome learned conceive, that prediction of our Saviour *Mat.* 16. 28, *Verily I ſay unto you, there be ſome ſtanding here, that ſhall not taſte of death till they have ſeen the Kingdome of God come with power.* The Kingdom of God came with power when *the Holy Ghoſt came down like a mighty ruſhing wind, and ſhooke the place where the Apoſtles were on the day of Pentecoſt gathered together, Act.* 2. 2. This violent ruſhing wind, was an Emblem of the great power

power of the Goſpell which ſhooke the foundations of Sathans Kingdom, and overthrew all his ſtrong holds, demoliſhed Idols, ſubdued all the learning, policy, and power of the world, and captivated all Nations to the obedience of faith. The Jewes had moſt of them a ſtrong prejudice againſt Chriſt, yet S. *Peter* with his Fishers net came over them and caught 3000. of them at one draught, *Act.* 2. 41. The *Samaritans* had for a long time been held under the power of Sathan by the Inchantments and Sorceries of *Simon* the Conjurer, but the Goſpell comming among them, thoſe Magick Spells loſt their force, and were un-witched by a more potent and effectuall charm, *Act.* 8 12. Its recorded there, *That when they beleeved the things that were ſpoken by* Philip *concerning the kingdome of God, and the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, they were Baptized both men and women:* When the Word is Preached, its as poſſible to keepe down the Sun from riſing, as to hinder Chriſt from getting up into his Kingdom. Rom. 16.26.

But how comes the empty breath of a few weak and deſpiſed men to be ſo effectuall and prevalent?

The Reaſons are, 1. This is the Inſtitution and Ordinance of God, which therefore muſt needs be mighty and powerfull, to bring about the end it was appointed for: this was the ſole Apoſtolicke Weapon whereby they ſubdued all the world to the Scepter of Chriſt, 2 *Cor.* 10 4. 5. It is not the bare ſound of the Word, but the concurrence of God with his own Ordinance that did give it ſuch life and ſucceſſe every where, *Mark* 16. *ult.* As the woman of *Tekoah* was ſubtile, becauſe the hand of *Ioab* was with her, ſo the Preaching of the Apoſtles was powerfull becauſe the hand of the Lord was with them, *Act.* 11 21 *Zabarell* gives this account why heate being but a meere accident is yet the cauſe of all nutrition; It is not as it is a bare quality, but as the Inſtrument of the Soule. And if any aske, How the Preaching of the Goſpell workes ſuch rare effects, it being ſo weak and contemptible a thing, the anſwer is, *Non ut ſonus ſed ut inſtrmentum dei*, not as it is a ſound, but as the Inſtrument of God; there was never any man more excellently accompliſhed, or more diligent in this great work, then the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, he carried the Word of the Kingdom and ſet up the Scepter of Chriſt, well neere to the third part of the know world, *Yet I dare not ſpeak*, ſaith he, *of any thing which Chriſt hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient by word and*

Non vi non armis nec carceribus ſed ſolo gladio Spiritus quod eſt verbum dei tot victoriis tot triumphos paravit Eccleſiæ Chriſti Poſſidon. de Auguſt. in vita ejus.

Zabar. phyſ. *non ut ſonus ſed ut inſtrumentum animæ.*

and deed, through the mighty power of the Spirit of God, Rom. 15. 19, 20.

2. In the Goſpel there is a diſcovery of great and glorious things, which o[b]jectively and morally work upon the apprehenſions of men. All objects make impreſſions upon the hearts of men according as the worth and excellency, the uſe and neceſſity of them is more or leſſe apprehended, every man is drawn by that which appeares beſt for him in his own judgment: As a ſheepe may be led along with a green bow, ſo may an Epicure with pleaſures, an ambitious man with a baite of honour, and covetous men with a bribe, a martiall man with feats of Armes, and every man with that which carries the greateſt ſtroke with him, and which he hath the greateſt apprehention of. In like manner doth it fall out here; the great things propounded in the Goſpell, when they are ſeene and underſtood according to their own worth, they attract the heart and raviſh the affections; the *Arminians* ſay, That the Word preached, workes upon the underſtanding irreſiſtibly; in the Elect no doubt it doth ſo, when the houre is come which God hath appointed, and when there is an impreſſion of light ſet on irreſiſtably upon the minde, the will and affections are alwayes in a due proportion, equally moved and ſtirred as the hinder wheeles in a coach are with the former, and when both the underſtanding is conquered, and the will caught, and the affections raviſhed, what then can hinder men from comming into the Kingdome of Chriſt. If the Phariſees by taking away the key of knowledge, debarred men of entrance into the Kingdome of God, *Mat.* 23. 13. *Luke* 11.52. Surely then the preaching of the Goſpell, and the diſpenſation of the myſteries of it, being the right uſe of the Keyes of knowledge, muſt needs be a meanes to give people admiſſion and entrance into that Kingdom.

αἵ γὰρ τοῖς γ' ἅλις ἑκάστῳ εἰσὶ δόξα τε θάνατος. Homer. de Achill.

Vid. Camer. in Hyp. ſt. ad viram Doctum.

3. In the Preaching of the Goſpell there is not onely a bare Propoſition and diſcovery of glorious things to whet up and provoke the affections of men, but there is an offer and tendry of them upon the eaſieſt and freeſt termes; as if the Lord were weary of his Kingdome, and would gladly make it over unto men, he offers it for nothing, requires nothing but acceptance and thanker; more than this, he intreats and woo's and ſollicites men, yea he importunes and urges, and in a manner offers violence unto them, to make them plyant and tractable to their own happineſſe.

As

As *Lot* urged the Angels and offered violence to them to come and lodge with him, *Gen.* 19. 3. and *Jacob* in like manner was urgent with his brother to accept his preſent, *Gen.* 33. 11. and the Levites father-in-law would needs with much importunity heape kindneſſe upon him; ſo the Lord he ſeemes with a loving violence to obtrude, as it were, his Kingdom upon men, and to preſſe it upon them with ſuch eagerneſſe of affection, as if he knew not how to be happy without them. When the gueſts that were invited to the marriage Supper of the Kings Son, refuſed the offer, *Go*, ſaith he, *into the high wayes and hedges and Market places, and bring in the blinde, and the lame, and the halt*, ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν, *Luke* 14. 23. *compell them to enter in*, that is, uſe all your uttermoſt endeavours to allure and draw them, try all concluſions by perſwaſions, promiſes, threats, to work upon them. As *Lot* when he lingred in *Sodom*, and was loth to depart; the Angells layd hold on him and pluckt him out: ſo the Lord would have his ſervants to enforce as it were, and hale men into his Kingdom, that they might be ſaved; not that he doth in proper ſpeech conſtrain or enforce the will; for that agrees not with its nature, it being a rational faculty which cannot be compelled, but the Lord drawes it with a ſweet and liberall πειθαναγκη a loving and gentle violence, a pleaſing & powerfull neceſſity, which in effect is all one with thoſe cords of a man and bands of love which the Prophet ſpeakes of, *Hoſea* 11. 4. and when men are thus drawn its no marvell if *they come and offer violence to the Kingdom of heaven*, when it hath firſt offered ſuch violence to them.

In his locis 70. Interpretes utuntur hoc verbo βιαζεσθαι *& aliis paſſim.*

Nolite cogitare invitum trahi trahitur animus & amore, Aug. tract. 26. in Joh.

Gen. 19. 26. *Nemo ſe ab invito cœli vellet ne homo quidem* Tert.

4. The Goſpell and Kingdom of Chriſt is of an increaſing and growing nature, it ſpreads like a *leaven*, *Mat.* 13. 33. growes *like a graine of muſtard ſeed*, *ver.* 31. It got firſt into families, then it crept next into Cities, afterwards it advanced into whole Provinces, Countries, Common-wealths, *that little ſtone that was cut out of the mountaine without hands*, figured the Kingdome of Chriſt which will break in pieces all other Kingdomes, and grow into a great mountaine filling the whole earth, *Dent.* 2. 34, 35.

5. And that which is yet more obſervable, this *Kingdom of Chriſt* it growes by its loſſes, thrives by its decayes, proſpers by its oppoſitions: it is in this like unto a bed of Cammomill, the more its trodden down the more it gets up, and riſeth; the old rule here if ever holds true, *Punitis ingeniis gliſcit authoritas*, oppoſition makes

the Goſpell it ſelf, and thoſe that bring it, gather ſtrength and win the more Authority: when the Apoſtle was caſt into priſon, the Word of the Lord was not bound, howſoever the Adverſaries thought to ſtop the proceedings of the Goſpell by that courſe, yet it tended rather to the enlarging and propagation thereof, *Phil.* 1. 11, 12. Lo here how bonds and fetters helped forward the happy ſpreading and progreſſe of Chriſts Kingdome; oppoſition at *Jeruſalem*, made it get footing in *Rome* the Imperiall City; and not onely ſo, but even grow famous too in *Caſars* Palace, the Apoſtle tooke notice elſe-where, of a great doore and effectuall, which was opened unto him, when yet there were many adverſaries, 1 *Cor.* 16. 9. which plainly imports great ſucceſſe in deſpight of great reſiſtance; when the Dragon lay in waite to devoure the Churches man-childe as ſoone as it was borne, he was fruſtrate of his hopes, notwithſtanding all his rage, the childe was *caught up to the Throne of God*, *Revel.* 12. 5. So in *Diocleſians* time, when there was ſet up an Edict in the Market place for the utter extirpation of Chriſtianity, the whol world ſoon after turned Chriſtian.

Manifeſta ſetum ſhi virtus contra odia humana porrex it cum tanto magis Chriſtus prædicaretur quanto magis prædicari inhiberetur, Hilar. cont. Auxent.

1. Uſe for Inſtruction.

See then how great and ſingular a bleſſing it is which God affords unto any people, when he raiſeth up ſtore of precious and choyce Inſtruments to Preach the Goſpell among them. Howſoever we may haply deſpiſe the day of ſmall things, and make but ſlight account of ſuch a mercy, yet it is a favour certainely of as much worth in the intendment and conſequence of it, as the kingdome of heaven amounts unto. Its a ſign that God is comming to keep his Court of reſidence, where he ſends out harbingers to take up roomes and to prepare lodging and entertainment for him. When *Saviours come upon mount Sion*, the next newes is this, *That the Kingdom is the Lords*, *Obad. v.* 21. God abates nothing to a people of the height of his favours when he vouchſafes unto them this mercy, *Jer.* 3. 14, 15. Its promiſed as a ſpeciall token and pledge of Gods matrimoniall love, *Return unto me ye back-ſliding children, for I am married unto you*; how doth that appeare? *I will give you Paſtors according to my own heart, which ſhall feede you with knowledge and underſtanding*; and would you know of what conſequence that is, *verſ.* 17. *At that time they ſhall call Jeruſalem* the *Throne of the Lord*: the Lord Raignes to be ſure, and hath a Throne where he is pleaſed to plant a faithfull and powerfull miniſtery; and where the Lord Raignes, there is,

Spiritualiter ſignificat ipſos Apoſtolos & miniſtros verbi qui ſervare dicuntur eos quibus Evangelium annuntiant. Druſ. *in loc. confer.* 1 Tim. 4, 16.

1. The

1. The greateſt Honour and advancement that can befall a Nation. Its that which makes a Country to be *the land of Immanuel*, *Eſay* 8. 8. *A glorious high Throne, Jer*, 17. 12. *A Crown of glory and a Royall Diadem in the Lords hand, Eſay*, 62. 3. In a word, this is it which lifts up a people as *high as heaven, Mat.* 11. 23. Let *Italy* glory in this, That it is, for pleaſure, the garden of the world; we ſhall never neede to envie them, whilſt it may be truly ſaid of great *Britain*, That it is the Court and preſence Chamber of the great King; this is the Churches peculiar honour, The name of it ſhall be called from henceforth, *The Lord is There, Ezech.* 48 35.

ὅπου ἔστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία. Herodian.

2. As the greateſt honour, ſo the greateſt ſafety and protection attends where the Lord Raignes. The Church, it is the Kingdom of heaven upon Earth, and it is *a ſtrong City, having Salvation for its walls and Bulwarkes, Eſay* 26. 1. It may indeed be ſore aſſaulted and battered, but cannot be overcome; it may be endangered, but not deſtroyed; Chriſt muſt be plucked out of heaven, and the Scepter wreſted out of his hands, before the Church can miſcarry. Mat. 26. 18

3. The Kingdome of heaven is a ſtorehouſe of all bleſſings, temporall, Spirituall, and Eternall; *the bleſſings of the heaven above, and of the deepe that coucheth beneath, Irriguum ſuperius & irriguum inferius* the upper ſprings and the nether ſprings, yea all Gods *freſh ſprings* have their courſe here, *Pſal.* 87. 7. Chriſt hath unſearchable riches of grace and glory, and he makes them all over, together with himſelf, to thoſe that receive him. That State can never be bankrupt, that poſſeſſeth him who is the poſſeſſour of all things; looke over all the world and conſider what good thing we would have in reference to our private or publike well-fare, whether it be riches, honour, wealth, peace, liberty, policy, plenty, proſperity, or whatſoever elſe, which heaven can afford, they come in as additions with the *Kingdom of God, Mat.* 6. 33. We value our *Magna Charta* much, our civill rights and liberties we count them precious, and yet they are but for this life, but the grand Patent and Charter of heaven Feoffes us in the promiſes of the *life that now is, and of that alſo which is to come*, 1 *Tim.* 4. 8. Deut. 33. 13. *Qui poſſidet poſſidentem omnia nunquam pauper erit.* Ber.

To winde up therefore this clew, Whereſoever the Lord is pleaſed by the Miniſtery of his Servants to eſtabliſh himſelfe a Kingdom among men, there is a Throne of honour, a myne of wealth, a ſtorehouſe of bleſſings, an Ocean of comforts; In a word, there is the ſpring-head where all happineſſe flouriſheth and all miſery withers.

2. Vſe for Conſolation.

2. Here's matter of comfort and encouragement, That whereſoever the Goſpell is preached, there the Kingdom of heaven comes in, and no oppoſition can keep it out. The Prophets are wont to make this as a ground of greateſt comfort, even in the midſt of ſad times. *How beautifull are the feete?* how welcome the acceſſe *of thoſe which bring this good tydings unto Sion, Thy God raignes,* Eſay 52. 7. We may feede upon this cordiall, even on our ſolemne Faſt, in our greateſt mourning, in the midſt of all our teares, this may excite us to ſome expreſſions of thankfulneſſe and ſtrains of gratulation. *The Lord raignes,* ſaith the *man after Gods own heart*, and what then, *let the earth rejoyce, let the multitudes of the Iſles be glad thereof,* *Pſal.* 97. 1. If any other people in the world, ſurely wee of this Iſland have great cauſe to rejoyce and be glad in this regard, howſoever it be with us in other reſpects, yet bleſſed be God it may not, it cannot be denyed, but that the Lord raignes and hath had his Throne among us for a long time. *Tertullian* obſerved long ſince, that Chriſt ſet up his colours, and came in as a conquerer before the Roman Eagles could ſpread their wings here; and S. *Hierome* hath an expreſſion to this purpoſe, That the Court and Kingdom of heaven is as open at great *Brittaine* as at *Jeruſalem*; and although in the generall Apoſtacy of Antichriſt the Kingdom of heaven was here faſt locked and barred up for many hundreds of yeares, yet it was afterward by the happy reformation in the dayes of our Fathers, here alſo, as well as in other Churches ſet open againe according to that prediction, *Revel.* 15. 5. *After this I looked and behold the Temple of the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony in heaven was opened*; I neede not tell you what ſtore of excellent and glorious Inſtruments the Lord then raiſed up, both of Magiſtrates and Miniſters, nor how mightily they carried on the work, though againſt a world of oppoſition. It ſufficeth that we all know that the foundation of the Temple and Tabernacle of God was layd, and the ſtreet and walls of the heavenly *Jeruſalem* built, though in troublous times; and from that day forward to this, the Lord that hath the key of the houſe of *David*, that *opens and none ſhuts, and ſhuts & none opens*, he hath ſet before us an open door, as he did for *Philadelphia*; *Rev.* 3. 7. 8. and although there hath been, and ſtill is, much oppoſition, and great endeavours to have this door ſhut and faſt bolted, yet ſtill its kept open in deſpight of *Rome* and hell, and is not this juſt matter of comfort, that God hath by his Word opened us a paſſage into his,

Eſay 40. 9. Rom. 10. 15.

Brittanorum in acceſſa Romanis loca Chriſto tamen ſunt ſubdita Tert.

De Brittannis æque ac Hieroſolymis æqualiter patet Aula cæleſtis. Hier.

Noſtram doctrinam a prima ejus prædicatione prohibent reges duces & magiſtratus cum univerſis ſatellitibus illa tamen non fracceſcit ut doctrina humana ſed magis floret. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7.

his Kingdom which no Art or power of the Enemies can block up? Doth it not revive and cheer up our Spirits in our ſaddeſt droopings; that although the Lord ſuffers our treaſures to waſte, our eſtates to be drayned, our proviſions and ſupplies brought low; though he feede us with the *bread of adverſity*, and *water of affliction*, as it is in the Prophet, *Eſay* 30. 20, 21. *Yet he ſuffers not our teachers to be ſcattered into corners*; notwithſtanding all oppoſition, he ſtill continues a freſh Spring of the Goſpell, and with it the cloud of his preſence among us. Surely we are injurious to the bounty and goodneſſe of our God in this kinde, and value it not aright. If it beare not ſuch weight in our eſtimations and thoughts, as to counter-vaile, and more then countervaile, to outballance all our afflictions.

Nil ſentit ervum in nervo cum animus eſt in cælo, Tert.

And though there be ſome that would make us beleeve, That we are ſtill in the midſt of *Babylon*, and that it is not Chriſt but Antichriſt that hath his Throne among us, yet that is not a more malicious then an ignorant ſlander, and tends not a little, were it true, to the honour of that man of ſin: For how almoſt can you honour him more, as a reverend and grave Author ſayes well, then by holding him to be ſuch an one under whoſe raigne a faithfull and effectuall miniſtery takes place, the Word of the Kingdom being purely preached, the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred for ſubſtance, thouſands of people converted, and the way to Salvation and life eternall as open as in any other place in the world, Surely we ſhould be worſe ſcared then hurt with thoſe expreſſions of horrour and atrocity, which the Scripture brands the kingdom of Antichriſt with, if this were the condition of his raign and government. *Sed non ſic notus Vlyſſes*, I hope we are taught of God to know the manners of that man of ſin otherwiſe then ſo.

Mr. *Ball* Mod. Tryall of the grounds tending to ſep.

But to paſſe over this, let us deſcend into a more particular ſurvey and diſcovery of our preſent condition, and then I doubt me we ſhall finde but too much ground of juſt mourning and humiliation, for although it is true, that there is a Kingdom of heaven among us, which proſpers and flouriſhes in a conſiderable degree; yet it hath not ſpread and got ground in ſuch a large manner as might have beene expected and deſired. A man would think that we who have been tenants in *the Lords land*, and have had a Patent and Charter of the Goſpell leaſed out unto us, for the terme of more than foureſcore yeeres, with many other great advantages, above

3. Vſe for Humiliation.

Hoſ. 9. 3.

other

other parts of the world; a man would think I ſay, we ſhould have been long ſince a people ſo refined in Religion, ſo ripe in knowledge, ſo eminent for the life and power of godlineſſe, ſo exemplary for purity of Ordinances, Miniſtery, Doctrine, Worſhip and Government, as might have rendred us a praiſe in all the Reformed Churches, and a ſingular pattern and myrrour to the other parts of the world. But alas how far ſhort are we of ſuch a condition, and what great cauſe have we of mourning and humiliation in ſundry reſpects?

1. Its matter of mourning, That although there be ſome, yet we have not workmen enough rightly fitted and furniſhed with ability and fidelity for the Kingdom of God; if we had as many labourers as *Solomon* had for the building of the Temple, and he had many hundreds of thouſands, 1 *Kings* 5. 15. 16, yet all this would be no more then ſufficient, in reſpect of the great Work of God now in hand and upon the wheeles among us. But alas, we have ſcarce the tithe of that number, *the harveſt is great, and the labourers but few*, as our Saviour complained in a like caſe, *Luke* 10. 2. The Apoſtle having mentioned ſome 4. or 5. men of principall note, who aſſiſted him in the great work of Preaching the Goſpell, hee doth as it were fetch a ſigh and breath out his ſoul in an expreſſion of ſome griefe, for that there were no more ſuch, *Col.* 4. 11. *Theſe onely* ſaith he, *are my fellow Workers unto the Kingdom of God, which have beene a comfort unto me*: you know how our Saviour mourned, and how his bowels yearned with compaſſion over the multitudes, when he obſerved them to be deſtitute in this kinde, *and ſcattered abroad like ſheep without a ſheepheard. Mat.* 9. 36.

2. Its yet more to be lamented, that we are clogged and cumbred with others, who inſtead of promoting and carrying on, do indeed retard and ſet back the proceedings of the Goſpell and Kingdom of Chriſt οὐχὶ ἔργον, as the ſaying of *Byas* was, their very help is a diſadvantage and an hinderance, rather, there be no ſmall numbers imployed in the Service of the houſe of God, whom a man would diſdaine to ſet with *the dogs of his flock*, as *Job* hath it, *Chap.* 30. 1. of this ſort are,

1. Thoſe troopes of blinde guides, ignorant ſots, prieſts of *Jeroboams* order, the ſcum and froth of the people. Indeed the filleſt creatures in the world, if they were but men, were good enough as one ſayes to make prieſts for *Jeroboams* gods, which

Dr. Stoughton.

were

were but calves, but what hath the Goſpell and Kingdome of Chriſt deſerved, that it ſhould be put into the hands of ſuch huckſters.

2. Little better upon the matter, though ſome of them are more learned, are thoſe Loiterers, rather than labourers in Gods Vineyard, who feede themſelves and famiſh their flocks, *Non-reſidents* I meane, who through covetouſneſſe make Merchandize of the Church of God, and care not what becomes of the ſoules of the people, bought with Chriſts blood, ſo they may wallow in their pomp and jollity. Maſter *Greenham* wiſhed that this Inſcription or Motto might be written on their doores and poſts, on their beds and tables, on their ſtudy, bookes, plate, and all their furniture, *pretium ſanguinis, pretium ſanguinis*, The price of blood, The price of blood.

3. Worſe then both the former, are thoſe ſonnes of *Eli*, or ſons of *Belial* rather, who by their corrupt Doctrine, or ſcandalous converſation, poyſon thoſe who are committed to their charge, pulling down the Church and Kingdom of God with both hands, but building it up with neither; if the people call *for bread*, they *give them a ſtone*, and when they *aske a fiſh*, *reach them a Serpent*; are not Chriſts flock, trow ye, well provided for, when they are ſet over to the feeding of ſuch Wolves?

4. That ſmall ſprinkling of faithfull Miniſters and people that are in the Land, have they not been diſcouraged, oppreſſed, and perſecuted with all extremity of rigour, onely for that power of godlineſſe which they held out, as if they that are themſelves and would gladly draw others to be ſubjects in the Kingdom of heaven, were for that reaſon not worthy to live upon the earth. That which we reade of the *Jewes*, *Ezek.* 11. 15. It was me thinkes an exact image and portraiture of the late face of our times; The great ones that bare the ſway, caſt out all the Miniſters and people of God, ſaying, Get ye far hence from the Lord, to us is this Land given in poſſeſſion: oppreſſion was in power, ſuperſtition in credit, Luxury and Idleneſſe in favour, Ignorance cheriſhed, prophanneſſe countenanced, negligence harboured, all Impiety foſtered and maintained, onely the faithfull ſervants of Chriſt were an eye-ſore and a burthen which the land could not beare; and what was the quarrell? Why they could not reconcile their Conſciences to the *piety of thoſe times*, the new revived Popery would not reliſh antiquated

Nil peccavit agnus tantum lupus eſuriit.

ted ſuperſtitions then obtruded were not pleaſing, they could not concoct Idolatry with witty diſtinctions, In a Word, they could not ſwallow the doctrine of *Balaam*, which ſome great Prelates and their adherents ſet abroach, teaching men to bow to a piece of wood or ſtone, the work of the hands of the Maſon or Carpenter, no doubt a right worſhipfull block, therefore the enemies either drove them out and perſecuted them into ſtrange Cities, as *Jeroboam* did the conſcientious Levites, 2 *King.* 17. 21. Or if they tarried ſtill in the Land, *they were appointed out as ſheepe to the ſlaughter*, *Zach.* 11. 45. conſult the place and it will ſeeme a Prophecy calculated for our Meridian.

5. To affect our hearts with juſt griefe, yet more, ſee if there be not a mighty Reigne of all manner of Iniquity almoſt every where in the Land. Is there not an overflowing Deluge of Popery, Atheiſme, Hereſies, Sects, Schiſmes, Idolatry, Tyranny, Simony, Bribery, Sacriledge, Oppreſſion, Rapine, Whordom, Drunkenneſſe, Adultery, Murther, with all other abominations, that can be named? are not all theſe as you heard worthily from the reverend Doctor in the morning, broken in like a torrent or winter land-flood upon us? It was a ſad complaint of a learned and worthy Divine of ours divers yeeres ſince, That there was ſuch a generall corruption of manners here, that all things ſeemed to be lawfull, and might be acted freely and with impunity enough, except medling with the Prelates Myters, which only were ſo ſacred that they might not be toucht: the Jewes have a ſaying, That when all the creatures were deſtroyed by the flood, *Noah* had a copy of them in the Arke, which was after re-printed to the world; and ſure I think, were all the corrupt Religions, and all the notorious ſinnes of the world loſt, a new Edition might be ſoon ſupplyed and ſent out by the Copies and Paternes of them that are among us. Where theſe things are, and abound, it may be queſtioned whether the Lord raigns; but it is out of all doubt that ſo far forth at leaſt Sathan hath a Throne there, as in the Church of *Pergamus*, *Revel.* 3. 13.

Merito quis nivari poſſit quomodo in tam diſſoluta conſuetudine omnium quæ rerum excepta præſulatus ſugillatione doctrina tum diu incorrupta perſtitit Brightman *in* 3. cap. Apoc.

6. That which may heighten our griefe as it doth our miſery yet further, ſince the beginning of the Reformation none of all our former Princes or Parliaments have ever yet ſo laid theſe miſchiefes to heart, as to make any effectuall proviſion againſt them. *Dant animum ad libere loquendum ultimæ miſeriæ.* Extreame miſeries will force a man to ſpeak out more freely then otherwiſe were

were perhaps fitting, Let me therefore intreate you, moſt honoured Senators, to lay your hands on your breſts, and tell me whether this be not true. What law hath ever yet been enacted to enforce diligence and painfulneſſe in preaching, or to eſtabliſh a learned and faithfull miniſtery? Nay hath not the doore unto the Miniſtry been ſet wide open, and Sacred Orders proſtituted to all ſorts of perſons though never ſo apparently unfit or unworthy? And hath there ever yet been any ſollid well-grounded courſe, either to prevent the entrance of ſuch at the firſt, or to eject and remove them afterwards? The like may be ſaid of the unſuppreſſed growth of ſcandalous ſinnes, dangerous errours, deſtructive opinions and hereſies, beſides the prodigious ignorance next to Barbariſme, which hath been ſuffered to overflow the Dominion of *Wales*, and the neighbouring Kingdom of *Ireland*; to ſay nothing of the blinde corners in our own Land, in all which there is ſo little knowledge of Chriſt and the Goſpell, that a man could hardly take it upon his conſcience, that the moſt of the people are not Infidels; ſurely very few would ſuſpect them to be Chriſtians; Who would think that ſuch a Kingdom as this, profeſſing the Goſpell and faith of Chriſt, ſhould ſuffer ſuch abuſes and prophanations, and take no effectuall courſe for the redreſſe and reformation of them. It may be a juſt griefe and ſhame unto us that ſuch things may be layd to our charge and that we cannot anſwer for them.

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis & dici potuiſſe & non potuiſſe refelli.

7. But this is yet worſe then all the reſt, and more to be lamented, That the Publique State of the Kingdome hath heretofore by Parliamentary Acts and Decrees Legitimated ſome of the former and ſundry other miſchiefes: and is it not a ſtrong conviction of ſin reigning in a land, where the throne of Iniquity eſtabliſheth miſchiefe by a Law? *Pſal.* 94. 20. Other ſins may be charged upon private perſons, but the publique ſtate muſt beare the guilt of thoſe evills which it might have hindred and did not, much more of thoſe which it did command; and how can that State be excuſed from commanding of ſin, which enacteth lawes againſt Gods Lawes? what ſhould I neede to tell you of the errours and overſights of former times, in which the civill Authority and ſanction of Parliaments hath confirmed and ratified, not onely *Non-reſidency*, Pluralities, Impropriations, and a dumb Miniſtery, with other like corruptions, but that which hath given growth, and ſpreadth to all theſe, and many other horrible abuſes, a pompous high towring

Vid. Mollerum in Pſal. 94. 20.

Qui non impedit peccatum quum poteſt Jubet.

and moſt unprofitable Hierarchy, with a multitude of Chauncellours, Commiſſaries, Surrogates, and other inferiour Officers depending thereupon; the moſt of which have beene ever found by conſtant experience, very bitter enemies to the Kingdom of God; and now the whole faction of them, with all its dependants, is riſen up in Armes to oppoſe Religion and Liberty, and to ſacrifice to their unbounded ambition, the proſperity, honour, and happineſſe of three Kingdomes. It was a harſh expreſſion, but too true, Religion is never in danger but among the *Right Reverend.*

Nunquam periclitatur religio niſi inter reverendos. Luth.

8. Once more, look upon all theſe great evills, not as ſinnes onely, but as Judgements alſo, eſpecially that Church-deſtroying, ſoul-damning curſe of a corrupt Miniſtery, which is one of the foreſt plagues that God is wont to puniſh a wicked people with. Its undeniable this, upon the former grounds, for if Paſtors after Gods own heart be ſuch undoubted pledges of ſpeciall favour and grace, ſure then the contrary muſt needs be interpreted as ſymptomes of wrath and infallible arguments of much diſpleaſure: God is angry with a people to purpoſe when he inflicteth upon them ſuch a Judgement, *Hoſ.* 9. 7. *Iſrael might well know* (and ſo may *England* now by the ſame token) *that the dayes of viſitation and recompence were come, when the Prophet is a foole, the ſpirituall man mad,* an heavie condition God wot, but hark what followes; *For the multitude of their Iniquity and the great hatred:* we are for the moſt part ſlight and ſhallow in ſearching out the true roote and ground of ſuch a Judgement when *the Prophets are fooles, and ſpirituall men mad,* we ſhift off the blame from our ſelves, and derive it upon others; oh we may thank the Prelates for this, or we may thank corrupt and Simoniacall Patrons; theſe commonly be our thoughts, but truely we may thank our ſelves moſt of all, who by our manifold great ſinnes have provoked our God to ſcourge us with ſuch a dreadfull viſitation, Let us therefore ſit in the duſt and accept of our puniſhment, acknowledging and owning our demerit. If there be multitudes of Prophets fooles, and multitudes of Spirituall men, that are no better then mad or diſtracted, take the Prophets word for it, and write it down as an Oracle, That it is for *The multitude of our Iniquity, and for Gods great,* but juſt, *Hatred,* conceived againſt us.

Ideo multum eſt odium Dei videlicet in te. Druſ. in loc.

It was *Hirams* complement to *Solomon, Becauſe the Lord loved his people, therefore he made thee to be King over them,* 2 *Chron.* 2. 11.

And

And let me ſay in the ſame manner, *becauſe the Lord was angry with his people*, therefore in Church and State he made ſuch and ſuch Lyons, Wolves, and Leopards, to rule over them; when a Religious man in an expoſtulatory ſtraine, complained to God of *Phocas* that Paracide, who paved his way to the Throne by the murther of *Mauritius* his predeceſſour, ſaying, Lord, wherefore haſt thou made this man Emperour: The ſtory records, that the Lord returned this unto him in anſwer, *enimpero quomodum non inveni pejorem*, Verily, becauſe I have not found a worſe: It ſeemes the ſinnes of the Romane State were then grown to ſuch an height, that if God could have culled out a worſe Inſtrument then *Phocas* was, they ſhould have had him to ſit at the Helm, and Steere their Common-wealth with a vengeance. And if any ſhould expoſtulate now, and complaine in like manner unto God and aske, Why he hath ſet over the Church ſuch multitudes of blinde Seers, mongrell temporizers, ſuperſtitious Chemarims, deſperate malignants, Incendiaries and furies; May he not returne the ſame anſwer, *Becauſe he hath not found any worſe*; Verily, the ſins and provocations of our Land are riſen to ſuch an height and ſwoln to ſuch a Number, that if the Lord could have raked together a worſe generation of pernicious and deſtructive inſtruments, from any corner of the world on this ſide of hell; Its not to be doubted but that ſundry of our Pariſhes and Congregations ſhould have been thought worthy to be plagued with them.

Jer. 5. 6.

Biſhop *Uſher* in his Tract *De Chriſtianarum Eccleſiarum ſucceſſione & ſtatu*: relates this out of *Cedrenus*.

I know this will ſeeme a ſad, and perhaps too grievous a charge, but will ye pleaſe to conſider how the Lord lightens and thunders, and with how tragicall an accent he uſhers in ſuch a Judgement, *Eſay* 29. 9, 10, 11, &c. *Stay your ſelves and wonder, and cry ye out*, Wherefore is all this noiſe? What meanes ſuch unuſuall fulgurations? Sure the matter muſt needs be great, more then ordinary, when the expreſſions are ſo full of horror; Indeed ſo it is, for the Lord was now preparing a Judgement for his people, little ſhort of the damnation of Hell, at the 10. *verſ. He powres out upon them a Spirit of ſlumber*, rockes them faſt aſleepe in a profound ſecurity, and that they might never be awaked, *Their eyes were cloſed* (as dying men uſe to be) *their Prophets, Rulers, and Seers, were covered*; a black and palpable miſt of *Egyptian* darkneſſe, encloſed and over-clouded them all, learned and unlearned, The viſions of heaven *were unto them a Sealed booke*, verſ. 11. 12. Utterly inexpli-

רוח תרדמה i. e. *Spiritum profundiſſimi ſoporis.*

cable and unintelligible: and if we would know what meanes the heate of this fierce wrath, ſee the ground and meritorius cauſe of it, *verſ.* 13, 14 It is for the *Iniquity of an hypocriticall and ſuperſtitious people, which draw neere unto God with their mouth, and with their lips do honour him, but their hearts recede far from him, and their worſhip of him is taught by the precepts of men.* Therefore doth the Lord proceede to do this marvellous work and wonder in their dayes: when he would ſeale up a people unto deſtruction, he ſtrikes them with a ſpirit of giddineſſe, and makes their wiſemen that ſhould be, as blinde as beetles, ſo as they can ſee nothing.

Propter peccata populi principes & prelati excæcantur. A Lapide in loc.

Quos perdere vult Jupiter dementat.

Let me with you patience adde one place more, of many others, to cloſe up this, *Mich.*2.6,11. *They ſtraightned the Spirit of the Lord and ſilenced his Prophets*, they liked not their Prophecies which never boded unto them any good, but ſtill, as they thought, put them to ſhame; therefore to fit their humour, that there might be like Prieſt like people; *If any man*, ſaith the Lord, *verſ.* 11. *walking in the ſpirit and falſhood do lye*, ſaying, *I will Prophecy unto you of wine and ſtrong drink, he ſhall even be the Prophet of this people.* The viſions and inſpirations of faithfull Prophets, which like golden ſhowers came dropping from heaven, theſe were loathed, therefore the Lord lets them have ſuch as they beſt reliſhed, drunken ſots ſetting all their doctrines abroach from their wine cellar. Doe but turn the key of the ſpeech and alter the Scene, and it will ſuite our condition to a haire. If any man walking in the Spirit, and falſhood, will Preach againſt Preaching, and cry up the divine right of Epiſcopacy with Altar and Image worſhip, and the only lawfull devotion of May games and Morrice dances, for the Sanctification of the Lords day, he ſhall even *be the Prophet of this people.*

Zach. 11. 16.
1 Kings 22. 20.
Revel. 9. 1, 2, 3.
כעם ככהן

4. This may reach out a word of exhortation, Firſt to all in generall, and next in a more ſpeciall addreſſe to miniſters, and laſtly to our honourable Senators.

1.
To all ſorts.

1. It generally concerns us all of what degree or condition ſoever we be, to helpe forward as much as lyeth in us, the powerfull preaching and receiving of the Goſpell, which is the onely meanes by which the Kingdome of heaven comes in and gets poſſeſſion: Indeede we cannot all be Chriſts Scepter bearers that is, an Office peculiar to ſome few that are deſign'd to it by ſpeciall appointment; we cannot all promote the affaires of the Kingdom of heaven

heaven by Preaching, but there is ſomewhat which we may all doe,

1. We may prepare and make way for the erecting and ſetting up of Chriſts Throne in our owne hearts and in our families and dependants; we may do much, if we put our ſtrength to it to do our utmoſt. If Chriſt raigne in our own conſciences by the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, *and the Kingdome of God be within us*, as the expreſſion is, *Luke* 17. 21. We ſhall then ſtraine our indeavours with all violence, to make our houſes *Bethels* little Temples, and Sanctuaries, and courts for Chriſt to keepe reſidence in, there ſhall be roome for no ſwearers, drunkards, ſcorners of Religion or any other children of *Belial*, that turn the broad ſide againſt Chriſt, and will not have him reigne over them.

Δημοκλῆ δ' ἔνας ἐστὶ πανδαμάτωρ ἠδ' ἀλόχων. Homer.

2. We may hold faſt what we have got already, not ſuffering any enemy to take our crown and Kingdom from us; there is a holy art of violence if we could hit on it, by which *the King may be detained and held in our gallerics* by the chaines of an acceptable and well pleaſing captivity, *Cant.* 7. 5. If he ſee us earneſt and zealous, with all our moſt ſerious deſires and affections, winding about him, and paſſionately enamored and ſick of love for him, and ſtedfaſtly reſolved to retaine him with us in deſpight of all oppoſitions, it will not then be in the power of any enemies to drive him out or pluck him away from us.

It may be we cannot prevaile to advance the Kingdom of heaven to a further extent and progreſſe, and to the achieving of new acquiſitions; but we may, if we be zealous and reſolute, make good the ground, which it hath already won, maintaine and defend all the Forts and ſtrong Holds, which it hath already taken in and conquered. We cannot be all Souldiers to fight the Lords battels in the field, but there is an holy war which we all may and muſt wage againſt Chriſts and our enemies, which would if they knew how, plunder him out of his Imperiall Soveraignety, and us out of our Salvation. S. *Jude* would have all Chriſtians ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι, earneſtly to contend and wraſtle for the faith which was *once delivered to the Saints*. Here it behooves us all to be ſtout and invincible Champions to take up the Armes of our Chriſtian warfare, againſt Sathan and Antichriſt, and all their Enſigne-bearers: whoſoever go about to encroach upon our conſciences, and to raigne over us in matters of faith and Religion beſides Chriſt, we muſt hold

Dicant nos præfractos duces pervicaces dum in eo ſunt ut Chriſtum enobis ripiant hic ſapervisſimi ſumus & eſſe volumus, Luth.

hold our owne againſt them to the laſt gaſpe.

3. If we can do nothing elſe, yet we may help forward the propagation of the Goſpell by our prayers, S. *Paul* often moves the people to *pray that a doore might be opened unto him, and that the Word of the Lord might run and be glorified. Habebat ille verbi tonitruum ſed dari ei viam querebat*, ſaith *Gregory*, He had the thunder of the Word, and yet he deſired the peoples prayers that it might get the eaſier entrance, and make the ſwifter progreſſe through all the difficulties and rubbs which he knew it would meete with. There are great mountaines of oppoſition that lye in the way of Chriſts Kingdome, but *prayer, if it be earneſt and faithfull*, will remove them, *Mat.* 7. 20. This was the Engine which the Prophet plyed when he would with his breath blow downe the great Monarchy of *Babylon*, which ſo long hindred the Churches reſtitution, *Eſay* 64 12. *Oh that thou wouldſt rend the heavens and come down, that the mountaines might flow down at thy preſence*; when the ſpirit of prayer growes hot and violent, it melts mighty mountaines, and makes them flow downe as ſnow before the ſun, or wax before the fire.

Col. 4. 3, 4.

Nos in tanta rabie hoſtium undique perſequentium nihil aliud geſtamus niſi clere gemitus & ſuſpiria ſed hæc ſunt bombardæ noſtræ & inſtrumenta bellica quibus diſſipavimus tot annos regnum Antichriſti. Luth.

There be many faithfull Miniſters which now lye in chaines, and ſuffer Impriſonment as *Peter* did, *when Herod ſet a ſtrong guard of Souldiers to keepe him*: the enlargement of them were a great advantage to the Kingdome of God, a ſtrong Gale of prayer would turne the lock of the Priſon doores, ſhake off all their fetters, and fetch them out with ſafety; there be many blinde corners in the Land, where the people ſit in darkneſſe, *and the ſhadow of death*, having ſcarce any more knowledge of Chriſt and the Kingdom of heaven, then thoſe that live in the wild deſerts of *America*, how miſerable is the condition of ſuch poore ſoules, which are beſieged with hell fire, and yet know not their owne danger: The key of knowledge not being with them, the kingdom of heaven is faſt locked and ſhut up upon them with Iron gates and barres. If we can do nothing elſe, yet we may at leaſt pitty ſuch poore ſoules and weep over them, and pray for them, that the Lord would thruſt ſome faithfull labourers into his harveſt among them, *Mat.* 9. 38.

Acts 12. 6, 7, 8, &c.

4. We may and muſt with our prayers joyne our endeavours, imploy our Intereſts, friends, purſes, withall the contributions, talents, and advantages that we have to help forward the propagation of Chriſts Goſpell and Kingdom, that it may prevaile and proſper every where, eſpecially in our own Land. We all pray

that

that his Kingdom may come, we are not in good earneſt, but do in effect mock God, when we uſe not all poſſible meanes to accompliſh what we pray for. If we be deſirous to have a Kingdom of heaven upon earth, we muſt ſpare for no coſt, but like the wiſe Merchant man, venture all we have for this pearl; Wherefore were our eſtates given us, but to honour God, advantage our ſelves and helpe our neighbours? which we can no way procure more effectually then by laying them out to purchaſe a ſound Miniſtery, we can never put out our wealth to a nobler uſe; riches are then *Goods*, when they are thus imployed: if there be any other, this is the beſt way to *make our ſelves friends of the unrighteous Mammon*, *Luke* 16. 9. We may at once ingage God and man to be our friends by this courſe. For what can be more to the honour of God, or benefit of man, What more acceptable to both then to do with our Eſtates as *Tyre* did after its converſion, write upon them *Holineſſe to the Lord*, *Iſay* 23. 18. Happy are thoſe ſtones, ſaith the Philoſopher, of which Temples are made; and happy is that Sacred Revenue, ſay I, which is imployed γεφυρᾶται τ' ἄεθλον, to make a bridge for men to go to heaven by. Oh that ſome common ſtock might be raiſed for this purpoſe. There was an honourable deſign on foot ſome few yeeres ſince, for the buying out of Impropriations, and the redeeming of the Churches patrimony; it was a worke of as eminent piety and charity as ever any this Age hath produced, and the ſtopping of it by ſome execrable inſtruments, was an act of as pure Sathanicall malice againſt the glory of Chriſt, and the Soules of men, as ever iſſued out of Hell; and were there no other exception againſt ſome great Incendiaries but this, it were enough to render their perſons hatefull, and their memory infamous to all generations.

Tyrii ad Chriſtum converſi divitias ſuas conferunt ad uſus ſanctos, i. e. *ad Cultum dei & ſuſtentationem miniſterii Evangelici*, Piſc.

But howſoever all are intereſſed in this, yet the Miniſters of the Goſpell it belongs to them in a more ſpeciall manner, to endeavour the proſperity, honour, and enlargement of Chriſts Kingdome; their very office and calling, beſpeakes this at their hands, wherefore elſe are they appointed of God and ſeparated from others, but to be both by their preaching and converſation builders of his houſe, Stewards in his family, Watchmen in his City, Labourers in his Vineyard, burning Lamps in his Temple: the ſucceſſe and fortune of Chriſts Kingdome depends next unto God upon the Iſſue of their endeavours. If they whoſe office it is to attend the Sanctu-

2.

To Miniſters.

Oratio ejus Tonitruum vitaſſet. Nazian. de Baſil.

Sanctuary, had but the fire of the Sanctuary burning on the Altar of their own hearts; If they were like *John* the Baptiſt, *Burning and ſhining lights*, oh what a goodly light of knowledge, and flame of zeale, would be kindled in the hearts of the people; How would multitudes come flowing in, to borrow fire from their hearth, and light their candles at their Lampes? What a ſingular honour would this be to have it recorded as ('tis here of *John*) That from the days of ſuch and ſuch a Miniſter, ſince the time of his arivall and continuance, in ſuch and ſuch a Congregation, with the parts adjacent, there hath bin great contention, much wreſtling and *violence for the Kingdome of heaven*, great trading and traſficking for remiſſion of ſinnes, the Graces of the Spirit, which before were ſcarce at all looked after.

How much better were this, then to have it left upon record, That ſince the entrance of ſuch and ſuch a Dumbe Miniſter or lazie Drone, there hath been a great decay of Religion and piety, a great famine of the Word, with a Mighty Inundation of Popery, Atheiſme, and all Prophanneſſe, ſince the entrance of ſuch Idoll Sheepheards, and Prieſts of *Baalam*; all vices have grown, all vertues withered: What a wofull account will ſuch men have at the day of judgement, when it ſhall be charged upon them, as upon the Phariſees, That they neither entred themſelves into the Kingdome of God, and that they hindred others that were deſirous to enter; moleſting, diſcouraging, and doing what they could, to caſt them out with a rage, that reached as high as heaven; with ſuch a violence as this, they will finde that God was not, nor ever will be well pleaſed.

3. To the Parliament.

I deſcend to that part of this Exhortation which concernes our honourable Senators: If powerfull and plentifull preaching of the Goſpell, be the next way to bring down the Kingdome of heaven among us; you ſee then Worthy Patriots, what it is which the Lord and his people expect and call for at your hands. The generall complaint is from every corner of the Land, That the people have been for a long time almoſt quite *without the true God, and without a teaching Prieſt, and without the Law*, as the *Iſraelites* were, 2 *Chron.* 15 3. No Miniſtery, no Worſhip, no Ordinances, or that which is little better then none; and the generall requeſt and deſire is like to that motion of the man of *Macedonia*, That you would ſend ſome over to helpe them. If therefore the glory of

Jeſus

Jeſus Chriſt and the Salvation of his people, bought with his own blood, be deare and precious unto you, as we know they are. If ever you deſire to have the honour of being the chiefeſt Inſtruments to plant a new heaven and a new earth in this Land, Helpe every Congregation to faithfull Paſtors, and pure Ordinances; you are as *Joſhuah* and *Zerubbabel*, the two Olive-branches, or the two anointed ones, which ſtand before the Lord of the whole earth; Oh let the golden Oyle ſtill ſtream out in abundance from you to feede *the Lamps of the golden Candleſtick*, *Zach.* 4. 12, 14. God hath made you *nurſing fathers, and nurſing mothers to his Church*, bleſſed be God we have found you ſuch: Go on ſtill with your honour, and make yet more full and liberall proviſions for all the children of his family; by this meanes Religion and the Church ſhall flouriſh more than ever, and thouſand, thouſands, ſhall bleſſe God for you.

Hi ſunt duo filii magnatum qui ſtant coram Domino totius terræ. Chal. Paraphraſtes.

If you would ſtraine your ſelves to do a work of the richeſt merit, and grandeſt importance for the Churches of Chriſt, I do not know any other that may be of ſuperiour, or but of equall conſideration with this, which among many things uſefull is without all doubt, *That one thing mainely neceſſary*, *Luke* 10. 42. The Kingdome of God cannot be held up without this, The key of knowledge (you know the cuſtody of it, *in the Prieſts lips*) it is the key of heaven; take away this, and ſuppoſe the whole land were paved with gold, and walled with rockes of Adamant; ſuppoſe we were crowned like the fortunate Iſlands, with the richeſt confluence of all worldly proſperity, honour and happineſſe: what would all this availe whiles the heavens are ſhut up and faſt locked againſt us. Take away a right Miniſtery and what is the moſt flouriſhing Common-wealth? but as a Paradiſe without the tree of life, as the firmament without the Sun, or as a goodly Palace richly furniſhed and hung about with ſtately ornaments, but without any windowes to let in the light of heaven.

Satius erat ſolem non lucere quam Johannem non docere ſic populus de Chriſt. in vita ejus.

Among all the Religious and worthy Acts of *Jehoſhaphat*, this is recorded as one of the chiefe, 2 *Chron.* 17. 7, 8, 9. *That he ſent his Princes, and with them the Levites, to teach the People in the Cities of Judah*, and I neede not tell you, for its well knowne how proſperous and ſucceſſefull that deſign prooved. I doubt not but this practiſe of that incomparable Prince, will be ſet up unto you, as a pattern for imitation. Bleſſed be God ye have begun well, I

ſhall neede to ſay nothing, but as that Greek Commander ſaid unto *Teucer*, βαῦ' ἰθῦ, go on and profper, *Gather out of the Kingdome of our God*, πάντα τα σκάνδαλα, *all things and perſons, that are offenſive and that do Iniquity*, *Mat.* 13.41. Ye have diſplaced ſundry unworthy and ſcandalous ones, which like drones cumbred the hive and preyed upon the honey, which ſhould have ſerved for the laborious Bees; take the ſame courſe with the reſt, *Remove the ſtumbling blockes, prepare the way of the people, lift up a ſtandard that they may flocke to it, as doves to their windowes*, this is the way to leave the Church a Pallace of Marble, which you found as a cottage of brick. I have inſiſted but too long upon this, wherefore I paſſe it over, and come to the next. *Thoſe that would put in for a ſhare in this Kingdome, they muſt not be dull and ſluggiſh, but earneſt and violent in purſuance of it.*

Eſay 62.10

There is indeed a violence, nothing praiſe-worthy, held out in Scripture, which is either, 1. In generall, when men put forth themſelves to the uttermoſt, and draw out their ſtrength in any ſinfull way, be it what it will, As the Prieſts and people when *Ahab*-like they ſold themſelves over to Idols, and the full bent and ſway of their ſpirits was unto ſin, here was a violence, ſuch as it was, *Jer.* 23. 10. *Their courſe was evill and their force not right.* Or 2. There is a violence taken in a more ſpeciall and reſtrained ſence, which is all one with oppreſſion and rapine, pillaging, ſpoyling, plundering, and other ſuch practiſes which *Jehoiakim* that wicked Prince is branded for *Jer.* 22.17. *John* the Baptiſt reads a Lecture to the Souldiers that came to his Baptiſme, *to beware of this violence*, it being ſuch a character as leaſt of all ſuits with thoſe that pretend towards the Kingdome of heaven, S. *Paul* is peremptory, that *none ſuch ſhall ever come there*, 1 *Cor.* 6.10.

ἡ βία αὐλὴ ἐν ἐυδεία Sept.

Luk 3. 14.

It is a violence quite of another nature and ſtraine, which is here hinted unto and commended. An honeſt and juſt violence, an holy Rapine, a lawfull and heavenly Robbery, a divine Sacriledge, which to give you in a word a rude and curſory deſcription of it, is nothing elſe, But a vehement bent of deſires, affections, endeavours, intenſively aſpiring, and reaching after the Kingdome of God, and greedily laying hold of all helpes, meanes, and advantages which may conduce and tend thereunto.

We have ſundry inſtances in Scripture of ſuch a violence as this. The woman of *Canaan*, *Mark* 7. 27. ſhe was ſo obſtinate in driving

ving on her deſign, that ſhe could not be beaten off, no not with repulſes, the more Diſcouragements ſhe had, ſo much the more reſolute and violent ſhe grew, taking a ſtrong hold-faſt of Chriſt, and cleaving to him like a bur, and never giving him over till ſhe had got what ſhe came for. So the blind man which ſate begging by the high-way-ſide, you may enter him into the ſame Liſt, *When he heard that Jeſus paſſed by, he cryed after him with a loud voyce*, and when the Diſciples diſcouraged him, he cryed yet *out the more a great deale*, and clamored after him, *Jeſus thou ſon of David have mercy on me*, *Luke* 18. 35. And were not thoſe Auditors of Chriſt exceeding violent who thronged after him in ſuch crowdes *that they trode upon one another*, *Luke* 12. 1. and thoſe alſo no leſſe, who forced their acceſſe unto Chriſt by digging through *ſtone Walls, and uncovering the roofe of the houſe where he was? Mark.* 2. 4. What ſhould I neede to ſtand upon particular Inſtances, the Scripture is full of them every where. The Souldiers, Publicans, and Harlots, in thoſe dayes, they roſe up in great numbers and took the Kingdome of heaven by force; whiles the Phariſees and Scribes and thoſe profound Schollers were left behind. Thoſe that ſeemed firſt were the laſt, and they that were laſt proved firſt. This violent Diſpoſition and ſtraine of Spirit, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew wherein it conſiſts, how it workes and wherefore it is ſo requiſite and neceſſary.

Surgunt Indocti & cælum rapiunt & nos cum doctrinis noſtris ſine corde ecce ubi volutamur in carne ac ſanguine, Aug.

1. Therefore this violence conſiſts in earneſt and vehement deſires. 2. In ſtedfaſt purpoſes and Reſolutions. 3. In ſtirring and impetuous indeavours. To begin with the firſt of theſe. Earneſt and vehement deſires; They are the next and moſt immediate iſſues, and out-goings of the ſoule, the feete on which it runnes, the wings on which it mounts and flyes towards the object deſired and longed for; and theſe deſires are either good or evill, carnall or ſpirituall, thereafter as the object is, on which they fix, and the order and manner in which they move. A man may know what the conſtitution and temper of his ſpirit is in relation to the Kingdome of God, if he can but diſcerne how the pulſes of his deſire beate, and what the chiefe and principall thing is, which the moſt quick and violent motions and ebullitions of his heart workes after. If a man be κοσμοπολίτης as the Philoſopher ſpake, a Citizen and inhabitant of this world, his deſires grovell on the earth, he pants after riches, honours, pleaſures, and reliſheth nothing elſe; but

now on the other ſide, if a man be πολιτευόμενος, a Citizen and inhabitant of another world, then the currant and full ſtreame of his deſires is ſtill riſing and working up towards heaven, *He will pant after God, as the chaſed Hart doth for the water brookes*, Pſal. 42. *And thirſt for him as the dry and parched ground doth for ſhowres of raine*, Pſal 63. 1. *He will long* (like a woman with child) *for his Salvation*, *Pſal* 119. 174. and if it be deferred *he will faint and fall into a ſwoune*, *Pſal.* 119. 81, 82. *And be ſick of love*, *Cant.* 5. 8. Such deſires as theſe are violent, and they are of ſuch force and prevalence that nothing can withſtand them. A man may do what he will and carry what he will in matters of Religion if he have but earneſt and vehement deſires, *Matth.* 7. *Aske and it ſhall be given you, ſeeke and ye ſhall finde, knocke and it ſhall be opened unto you*, This asking, ſeeking, knocking, is nothing elſe but prayer; and prayer is nothing elſe but the ejaculation or darting out of earneſt and impetuous deſires, which pierce the clouds and ſtrike up unto God, get into his boſome, charme his wrath, opens or ſhuts his hands, extorts mercies, removes Judgements, and never will away without its errand.

Tantam quiſque ſolet in negotio religionis quantum optime vehementiſſimeque vult, Cam.

This is that golden Key, as one fitly calls it, which can open all lockes, remove all barres, raigne over all Impediments in heaven and earth. Its a kinde of omnipotent thing that can prevaile with God and man above all expreſſions and thoughts. As they write of *Proteus*, that when any came to conſult with him, and to receive Oracles from him, he would at the firſt turne himſelfe into a thouſand varieties of colours and ſhapes, but if they preſſed on him with importunity, and held him hard and cloſe to it, he would then give them at laſt ſatisfactory oracles; So the Lord, though he ſeeme for a while to neglect and take little or no knowledge of the deſires of his people, and ſeemes to put them off, and winde from them, yet when their deſires grow violent, and when they knock at his gates with importunitie, then he lets them be their owne carvers, and is content that they ſhould raviſh from him whatſoever they will. By this you may ſee how ſtrong and forcible deſires be, though they ſeeme but of a ſoft and gentle ſtraine, they raviſh the objects they are ſet on; As if a man looke upon an object of beauty, and luſt after it, you know what interpretation our Saviour makes of that; ſo if a man look upon the Kingdom of heaven, and luſt after it, *he hath already raviſhed it in his heart.*

Vehementiſſimum à ſidervium eſt clavis aurea totius proſectus in regno Dei Harph. Theol. myſt.

2. This

2. This violent diſpoſition and ſtraine of ſpirit diſcovers it ſelfe inſtedfaſt purpoſes and reſolutions, *Reſolution it is the ſpring of Action.* Its that which poyſeth and ſteeres a mans courſe, ſuch as our purpoſes and reſolutions are, ſuch be our actions and enterprizes, the hand of the dyall goes without, as the weights and wheels of the clock turn it within; ſo the head plots, the hand acts, according to the ſway of a well or ill ſetled Reſolution. The heart ſaith (if it be ſet right for heaven) I muſt and will have the Kingdom of God; let honours and wealth go which way they will, to ſet up Chriſt upon his Throne, that he may raigne in heaven and earth, and in the hearts of men: Though it be a difficult, a paincfull, and chargeable deſigne; yet this I muſt and will drive to the worlds end; let other things ſink or ſwim, proſper or wither, it skills not, the Goſpell of Chriſt ſhall prevaile with me univerſally; let the world lye at ſix and ſeven, this courſe I muſt and will follow, though all the duſt of the earth, ſands on the ſhore, and tyles of houſes were devills, this I will ſet in hand with, come what will come; ſuch a reſolution as this is violent, and it will overcome all reſiſtance, and make a man *with a full purpoſe of heart cleave unto God, Act.* 11. 29.

We may ſee a lively portraict of ſuch a ſpirit, in the Apoſtle S. *Paul, Act.* 20. 22. *He went bound in the ſpirit,* as in a chaine, to *Jeruſalem,* and though he knew himſelfe, and others told him too, by the inſpiration and inſtinct of the ſpirit, *That nothing but bonds and impriſonments waited for him in every City, yet all this could not move him,* he had ſuch a magnanimous and adamantine reſolution to go through with his work, and fulfill his miniſtery; that his life was not at all deare unto him, neither did he ſet any value on it in compariſon of the ſervice which he was now upon. So true is that of the Spouſe, *Cant.* 8. 6, 7. *Love is as ſtrong as death, zeale as hard (i.e.* inexorable) *as the grave, much water cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it,* no difficulties or oppoſitions can allay or abate, much leſſe extinguiſh the heate of it, *If a man would give all the ſubſtance of his houſe for it, it would be utterly contemned.*

The whole world, though vayled with the moſt glorious and gliſtering temptations, would be ſcorned, as too meane and poore a bribe, to draw off the heart of a man from the Kingdom of God, when it is once well fixed and ſteeled with a firme and adamantine reſolution; no diſwaſions, ſloth, feare, policy, covetouſneſſe, fickle-

ficklenesse, nor any other thing, can either divert, or ſtop, or interrupt him in his enterprize. When a man is thus obſtinately and couragiouſly bent unto his worke, this is violence well pleaſing unto God. The Jewes have a ſaying, *That a man ſhould ſet his face as a flint, and that his countenance ſhould be like a Leopard, ſtout and ſtearn and obſtinate to do the will of his father in heaven.*

Eſto obſirmatus ad motum pardi ad faciendum voluntatem patris tui qui eſt in cælo, Druſ. præt. ex libro Aboth.

3. This conſists in ſtrong and ſerious endeavours; A man is not violent in matters of the Kingdome of God, if he do not put forth himſelfe into action, trying every concluſion, rolling every ſtone, and leaving nothing unattempted that may conduce to the atchieving of his end. Every man ſaith the Philoſopher, workes as he is, and his acts, and operations are ſuch as his principles. If the inward principles of his deſires beat faintly, if his purpoſes faulter and reele and be not ſteady and conſtant, then his Actings in like manner, will either be none at all, or feeble, and unſpirited, and conſequently fruitleſſe and bootleſſe; as an arrow weakely ſhot off will not carry home, but fall ſhort of the mark; and ſhort ſhooting, we ſay, looſeth many a game; it doth ſo in religion alſo: but now, when the deſires are as hot as a flame, and the purpoſes as ſtrong as ſteele, then to be ſure vigorous and Spirited endeavours will follow unavoydably. The Church in *Solomons Song* may ſerve for an inſtance to cleer this; for a long time ſhe lay languiſhing, and as I may ſay wind-bound; no excitations, wooings, or entreaties of her lover could prevaile, to get her up out of her warme bed, her ſecure and ſlumbring condition; ſome velleities and imperfect wiſhings and wouldings ſhe had, but ſtill the door was locked againſt Chriſt; her will was not bowed, there lay the inward impediment, the will was but halfe ſtirred, and therefore no ariſing, no motion, till Chriſt comes and puts in his hand to the hole of the doore, and takes away the bar, ſhoots the bolt, removes the Impediments, and then her bowels were affected and moved towards him, *Then ſhe aroſe and ſought him with a curious diligence every where, her hands beſtirred themſelves till they ſweat, till they dropt againe, her feete trudges up and down the ſtreets to finde him whom her ſoule loved, and a world now for them that could tell her of any tydings of him, Cant.* 5. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

ἔχει δὲ οὕτω ἕκαστα περὶ τὰς ἕξεις ὡς ἐνεργεῖται καὶ λέγεται καὶ γίνεται, Ariſt.

Omnis animæ motus radix eſt amor. Pariſ. *quodlibet agens propter amorem agit quod cunque agit.* Aqui. 1. 2. q. 28. art. 6.

Its a true ſaying, That love is the roote and principle of all the motions of the ſoul; for though there be other affections, and thoſe active, yet all are reducible to love; and in the ſtrength thereof they

they Act, and put all the wheeles of the ſoule in motion, as *David* when his heart was caught with a violent paſſion of love towards God, how doth he extend and ſpread out his armes, and put forth all oares and ſailes in a ſtrong purſuance after him. *Pſal.* 63. 8. *My ſoule followeth hard after thee*: there was never a more difficult and inhumane view, a more unfeaſible deſign then that of the *Jewes* in *Nehemiahs* time, when they were to build the houſe of God, they had a potent faction at Court, and malignant Councellours at home, to retard and ſtop the proceedings of the work, they were faine to build with a trowell in one hand, and a ſword in the other, yet they prevailed againſt all difficulties, and this is given in account as the reaſon of it, *The people had a minde to worke*, *Neh.* 4. 6.

You ſee now what this *violence* is, and wherein it conſiſts, ſee in the next place how it workes, either in relation to the good which it reacheth after, and would obtaine; or elſe in relation to the evill which it would remove, and be rid of.

In the relation to the good which it deſires to obtaine. 1. It ſtirreth up a generous and mighty ambition to excell in the inward gifts and graces of the Spirit, which are neceſſary qualifications for all them that would have a ſhare in the Kingdome of God. A man that is in a violent ſtraine, he cannot reſt in any mediocrities, never thinkes he hath vertue and grace enough, ſtill he is aſpiring and reaching after more, *He gives all diligence to adde unto his faith, vertue, knowledge, temperance, brotherly kindneſſe, godlineſſe*; all the reſt of that chaine of pearls which the Apoſtle ſtringeth up, 2 *Peter* 1. 5, 6, 7, as well knowing, that *if theſe be in him, and abound, they will make that he ſhall neither be barren nor unfruitfull in the knowledge of Chriſt*, and then to be ſure, *an entrance ſhall be miniſtred unto him abundantly into the everlaſting Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, *v.* 11. As a ſcholler thinkes he can never have learning enough, and a covetous man thinks that he can never have wealth and riches enough; ſo is it with a Chriſtian of a violent Spirit, he never reſts contented with his preſent pitch, but labours ſtill to abound more and more; ſtrives, if poſſible, to get up a note above *Elah*, ſets himſelfe no bounds, counts all that he hath attained, as nothing, like the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, whoſe zeale and covetouſneſſe, and ambition, in this kind was ſo beyond all meaſure *ſuper ſuperlative*, that although he had already gotten the greateſt meaſure of grace that ever any mortall man attained on this.

Ἐπὶ ἄπειρον αὐξῆσαι δὶ χρὴ μὰ τιζόμθροι τ πλῆτος, Ariſt.

ἐπιθυμία τῦ πλέον ὄζω εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον, Ariſt.

this ſide of heaven, yet he forgot it all, and ſcarce thought it any competencie, ſtill preſſing forward to an higher marke, as if he would pre-occupate the ſtate of glory, and attaine even in this world, *unto the reſurrection of the dead, Phil.* 3. 11.

2. In the worſhip and Service of God, and in the uſe of all the Ordinances, publique and private, the violence of a mans ſpirit workes much in this: the *Jewes* have a rule, That whatſoever a man doth in the ſolemn Worſhip of God, he ſhould ſtretch and ſtraine his inventions to do it with all his might, elſe it is not currant nor allowable with God; and the Apoſtle requires the like, *Rom.* 12. 11. He would not have a man ſlight and formall, but *fervent in Spirit, ſerving the Lord*; and the word notes an ebullition or boyling up of our ſpirits to the height. The oddes is not great, if any at all, between the omiſſion of duties altogether, and the remiſſe performance of them, ſeeing a man is a looſer both wayes. Acts of worſhip and devotion when they are liveleſſe and ſuperficiall, are like a bow ſlack bent, which will not carry the arrow home to the marke. S. *Baſil* obſerves further, That ſuch ſlighting over duties, is not onely unprofitable, but hurtfull and prejudiciall to the State of the ſoule, as tending onely to nouriſh an hypocriticall and barren formality. There is nothing in the world more unbecomming the worſhip of God, then ſuch a ſlight wanton ſuperficiall ſtraine of ſpirit, when a man playes with Religion and ſerves God as if he ſerved him not. It was *Davids* juſt praiſe, that the *Zeale of Gods Houſe did eate him up, Pſal.* 69. 9. *And he daunced before the Arke with all his might*, and when *Michael* ſcoffed at him for it, *I will*, ſaith he, *be yet more vile then thus, for God*, 2 *Sam.* 6. 14, 22. Nor was *Hezekiah* behind him in this, of whom to his everlaſting honour it is recorded that 2 *Chron.* 31. 27, *In every worke which he began in the ſervice of the houſe of his God, and in the Law, and in the Commandements to ſeeke his God, he did it with all his heart and proſpered.* The ancient & primative Chriſtians when they met, and crowded together with one ſhoulder, at their devotions, were ſo earneſt that they ſeemed to beſiege the Throne of Grace, and to raiſe a common ſtrength to invade, and make a riot upon God in their prayers, and this, ſaith *Tertullian*, was a *violence* right welcome unto God: *Jacob* was honoured and called *Iſrael* for this, becauſe he *wreſtled in prayer, and by main ſtrength prevailed like a Prince with God, Hoſ.* 12. 3, 4, 5. *Gen.* 32. 28.

Eccleſ. 9. 10.

Ζέοντες τῷ πνεύματι.

Πᾶν τὸ συντελῶν πρὸς θεοσέβειαν μὴ μετ' ὀκνηρίας καὶ σπουδῆς γενόμενον ὀπισθοδρομεῖν ἐστιν. Baſil.

Coimus in cœtum & congregationem ut deum quaſi manu factâ precationibus ambianus orantes hæc vis deo grata eſt, Tert. Apol. 39.

3. Nor

3. Nor is the violence either leſſe acceptable or leſſe neceſſary which we are to uſe for the Word and worſhip of God, either to maintaine and hold it up when we have it, or to reſtore and recover it, if loſt or endangered: S. *Jude* held it neceſſary to write unto beleevers to ſtir them up ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι, *Earneſtly to contend for the faith, which was once delivered unto the Saints*, *v.* 3. and the angell of *Pergamos* is much *commended for holding faſt Chriſts Name, and not denying his faith in a time of perſecution*, *Revel.* 2. 13. If wicked men would rob us of the Goſpell, take from us the Worſhip and Ordinances of God, plunder us of our glory, our crown, our Salvation, *here we muſt hold faſt what we have*, *Revel.* 2. 25. *Not giving place by ſubjection, no not for an houre*, *Gal.* 2. 5. nor yeeld to betray one ſillable unto them, as *Baſils* worthy reſolution was; we value not the truth of God, nor ſet a right eſtimate upon his worſhip and Ordinances, if we be not violently bent to maintaine and defend them to the laſt drop of our blood.

Οἱ θείας ἐν τεθεσμισμένοις λόγοις σπουδὴς περὶ τὴν θείαν δογμάτων ἁπάντων μίαν ἀνέχοντ' συλλαβήν.

And if there be a famine of the Word, a want or loſſe of any part or piece of worſhip, it muſt be violently ſtriven and contended for. *Solomon would have us buy the truth and not ſell it*, *Prov.* 23. 23. at any rate to purchaſe it, at no rate to part with it: a man that is rightly principled for heaven, will venture through an Army of *Philiſtims* for water of life, as *Davids* worthies did, unto the well of *Bethlehem*; the people would part with their very Jewells, the moſt pretious things they had, for the erecting and ſetting up of Gods Tabernacle, *David would not take an houres reſt till he had prepared an habitation for the Arke*, *Pſal.* 132. 3, 4, 5. and becauſe *he ſet his affection upon the houſe of God, he prepared for the building of it with all his might*, 1 Chron. 2, 3, 4 He thought it a thing unbecomming him, to dwell himſelfe in a houſe of Cedar, when the Arke of God dwelt under curtaines: and the *Jewes* in the ſore famine and ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, brought ever the faireſt and fatteſt Cattell for ſacrifices, though they were conſtrained themſelves to feede upon Rats and Mice and other worſe vermine; they choſe rather to pine and famiſh their own bodies, than the Altars of God ſhould be altogether unfurniſhed, or take up with the worſt: and when the Tribunes complained for want of gold in the Treaſury, to offer to *Apollo*, the Romane Matrons plucked off their chaines, bracelets, and rings, freely offering them to the Prieſts to ſupply that defect in the ſervice of their gods; This certainely was a high

Joſeph. de Bell. Jud.

Livy Hiſt.

ſtraine of devotion in thoſe *Iewes* and Heathens, And what do you think of the Primitive Chriſtians, were not they alſo thus violent when they ſold their eſtates, and layd down the price of them at the Apoſtles feete, to purchaſe the meanes of Salvation for themſelves and others? If the people of this land would bid ſo high for the rich pearl of the Goſpell, *The Kingdome of heaven* were ours.

2. In removing of evills.

2. And as in procuring of helpes, meanes, and advantages for the attainement or advancement of the kingdom of God, ſo in removing the lets and impediments, this heaven-ſprung-violence will work and beſtir it ſelf to the uttermoſt. If the Goſpell of Chriſt, the Word of the Kingdom, chance to be brewed with humane traditions, or the Worſhip and Ordinances of God adulterated with ſpurious inſtitutions and impure mixtures, *Quid non audet amor*, what will not a man of violence do or ſuffer? What labour or coſt will he ſpare? What adventures will he not make? What hazards not run, rather them ſuffer (if he can helpe it) ſuch pollutions? He will ſet his ſhoulders, with *Sampſon*, to the pillars of Dagons houſe, and pull them down, though himſelfe be oppreſſed in the ruines; he will cut down the grove of *Baal*, and overthrow his Altars, though the men of the City cry out of him, and threaten to have his life for it. He will do his uttermoſt to remove ſcandalls and ſtumbling blockes as *Hezekiah* did the brazen Serpent when Idolized; to ſcourge out of the Temple corrupt Churchmen, which make merchandize of holy things, as our Saviour did the money-changers; to reforme abuſes and prophanations of Gods Name, his Sabboth, and Sanctuary, as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did; He will not connive at his neereſt friends, but eject and caſhiere them, if Idolatrous or ſuperſtitious, as *Aſa* did *Maacha* his Queen Mother, 2 *Chron.* 15. 16. *Hezekiah* made it his firſt work when he came to the Kingdom to ſet open the doores of the Lords houſe, which for a long time had been ſhut up; he was ſcarce warme in his Throne when he was fiery hot, for a full and through reformation, 2 *Chron.* 29. 3. And *Ioſiah* his grand-childe, when he was yet but young was nothing leſſe, if not more eminent in this violent zeale than he. All the Altars, Groves, Images, and whatſoever other trinkets, reliques, and monuments of ſuperſtition were found in the land, he offered them up for a hecatomb, made a bone-fire of them, as you may ſee at large, 2 *Chron.* 34. 3, 4, 5, &c.

You ſee now the chiefe Ingredients of this heroicall Diſpoſition, and

and ſtraine of Spirit, and ſome few (for I cannot name all) of the principall operations of it, ſee now the Grounds and Reaſons of it.

1. In reſpect of God ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, Its meete and our bounden duty, that we ſhould uſe all our violence, and if 'twere poſſible more then all, in matters of this nature; Its good councell that of the wiſe man, *Eccleſ.* 9. 10. *Whatſoever thine heart findes to do, do it with all thy might*, ſlightneſſe of heart in carrying on any buſineſſe is naught, but worſt of all in Religion, God likes it well when we put on to purpoſe, muſter all our Forces, *and ſtir up our ſtrength to lay hold of him*, *Eſay* 64. 7. He lookes for what we can, *Deut.* 6. 5. And if we offer him leſſe than all, we might as well offer nothing. When our intentions in his Worſhip, are not ſcrewed up to this height, its a ſign that our hearts are divided and cloven, and therefore hypocriticall: when the Jewes were careleſſe and perfunctory in their devotions, and put God off with any ſacrifices which came next to hand, he accounted this as a diſhonour to him, and as a derogation to his Majeſty and greatneſſe, and therefore he thundred out a dreadfull curſe againſt them, *Mal.* 1. 14. *If ye offer the blinde and the lame for ſacrifice, is it not evill; offer it now unto thy governour, will he be pleaſed with thee, or accept thy perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, verſ.* 8. This carriage of theirs bewrayed plainely how little reſpect their hearts bare him. It was a cleere evidence againſt them, that they made him not *their chiefe*; therefore he lets them know how ſenſible he was of this diſreſpect, *verſ.* 14. *Curſed be he that having a male in his flock, offereth unto the Lord a corrupt thing, for I am a great King, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* If there be not a ſtamp and impreſſion of zealous violence in all our religious addreſſes unto God, our deportment is not ſuch as becomes the Majeſty and greatneſſe of ſuch a King.

בכל מאדך *Ex omni viribus tuis.*

2 And as this violence is juſt and neceſſary in reſpect of God, who requires and calls for it at our hands, ſo is it alſo in reſpect of the prize it ſelfe, which is here contended and ſtriven for, it being the Kingdome of heaven, and therefore well worthy of all the violence which we can uſe for it: to be eager and earneſt in other things of an inferiour allay ὑ λυοντελῆ it will not quit the coſt, violence for the moſt part is above the proportion and value of them; but the Kingdome of God is a matter of the greateſt importance and conſequence of any other in the world. It is worthy of all

the courage, zeale, and reſolution that we have; where can we lay them out better, or ſo well, as for the atchievement of a kingdom. The heathen man could ſay, *Imperia pretio quolibet conſtant bene*: A kingdom cannot be over bought, the crown Imperiall of a mortall Prince, it is a radiant and ſparkling object; whatſoever a man payeth for it, it is held a rich purchaſe notwithſtanding. *Agrippina* thought the Romane Empire a good penni-worth, though ſhe bought it for her ſon *Nero*, a very wretch, with the loſſe of her own life. What violent running, wreſtling and ſtriving was there of old in the Olympique games? what combates and contentions? yet all was but *for a corruptible crown*, as the Apoſtle ſpeakes, 1 *Cor.* 9. 24, 25. The greateſt reward they could looke for, was but a crown of Lawrell, a chaplet of flowers; and beſides, they all ran in thoſe maſteries, and yet it *was but one onely that could receive the prize*: but we ſtrive for an Incorruptible crown, and if we ſtrive *violently*, as we ought, we ſhall all obtaine the prize we ſtrive for; and when it is obtained, it will be more worth then all the crownes and diadems in the world.

Occidat, modo imperet, Suet. *in vita* Ner.

The Crownes of the greateſt earthly Monarchs, though the pearls in them be never ſo gliſtering, yet they are ſtuffed, for the moſt part, with ſuch thornes, attended with ſo many piercing cares and ſorrowes and diſcontents, that a wiſe man, if he ſhould meete with one of them lying before him in the way, he would ſcarce thinke it worth the taking up; but the crowne of this Kingdome which we ſtrive for, if by all the violence we can uſe in doing or ſuffering we may win it at the laſt, it will ſuper-abundantly make amends for all.

Its poſſible that we may, nay its certaine that we muſt endure much, if we will ſet our ſelves with obſtinacy and violence to run this courſe; tis a Law enacted in heaven, *That we muſt all through many tribulations, enter into the Kingdome of God*, *Act.* 14. 22. But this needs not diſcourage. If our ſuffering be great, our Reward is Hyperbolicall, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17. *Our light afflictions which are but for a moment*, what compariſon betwixt them and the reward which they work out for us, which is, *a far more exceeding and eternall weight of glory*. Its poſſible, in theſe plundring times, we may loſe our eſtates, it skills not much; if we part with that which we cannot keep, to gaine that treaſure which we cannot loſe: The Primitive Chriſtians, *ſuffered the ſpoyling of their goods*

2 King. 11. 14.

with

with joy, knowing they had in heaven a better and more enduring ſubſtance, Heb. 10. 34. It may be, whiles we are zealous for the honour of God, we ſhall be in danger to loſe all our owne reſpect, and reputation among men; the black mouth of Calumny may aſperſe the loyalty of our intentions, and ſully our Names with horrid imputations of treaſon and Rebellion; *Jehoiada* did but endeavour to put down unjuſt uſurpation, and to ſet up the right heire in this throne, and to draw the people into a Covenant with God, and yet *Athalia* cryed Treaſon, treaſon. Oh, but ſayes Saint *Peter*, *if ye ſuffer reproach for Chriſts ſake, happy are ye, for the ſpirit of glory and of God reſts upon you*, 1 *Pet.* 4 14. A Chriſtian is never ſo glorious as when he ſuffers moſt reproach and ignominy for Chriſts ſake. There is nothing in the world, ſaith *Chriſoſtome*, nothing at all comparable to that glory. *When men revile and perſecute you, and ſay all manner of evill againſt you falſly for my ſake, rejoyce and be exceeding glad*, ſaith our Saviour, *for great is your reward in heaven*, *Math.* 5. 11. A dram of credit well loſt, in a good cauſe, and for a good conſcience, will amount to as much in the returne of it, as an eternall Crown of glory is worth: but we may haply yet further endanger our liberties, forfeit our dearеſt contentments, incurre the diſpleaſure of our friends, loſe our intereſts, yea our lives and all we have in this world: we could never bring them to a better market, we ſhall gaine an hundred for one, take his Word for it who cannot lye, you cannot deſire better aſſurance, it being all which heaven and earth have to ſhew for their continuance, *Luke* 18. 29. *Verily I ſay unto you, there is no man that hath left houſe, or Parents, or brethren, or Wife, or children, for the Kingdome of Gods ſake, who ſhall not receive manifold more in this preſent time, and in the world to come, life everlaſting.*

Ἐμοὶ γένοιτο τὸ ὑδρορραγῆσαι καὶ κατεφονευθῆναι διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην κατακλύσαι ἀπείρων, ἐάν γε μηδὲν τῆς ἀξίας τούτης ἴσον, Chryſ. in Mat. Homil. 8.

Its a thriving trade indeede, thus to part with tranſitory things, and gaine eternall, to exchange droſſe for gold, peebles for pearles, withering flowers for an inacceſſible crown: Who would not traffique in ſuch a merchandize? *Anſelme* hath a ſaying, That if a man could ſerve God, with all fervency of zeale and devotion, for a thouſand yeeres, yet all this were as nothing in compariſon of the happineſſe to be for one halfe of a day in heaven; I will ſay yet more, If a man could performe all the vertuous exploytes, and ſuffer all the moſt exquiſite tortures which all the Saints and Martyrs have ſuffered from the beginning of the world, yet all this would

Si aliquid amiſſis vitæ gaudiis, negotiatio eſt aliquid amitteris ut majora lucreris, Ter. in lib. ad Mart.

Si homo mille annis Deo ſerviret quam ferventiſſime, non mereretur dimidium diei in cælo. Anſel.

would not beare up the ſcales, nor hold any proportion of weight, ſo as in any ſort to be judged *worthy to be compared with the glory which ſhall be revealed*, *Rom.* 8. 18. We can never therefore be over violent for this prize.

3. And as in reſpect of God and his Kingdom, this is neceſſary, ſo in reſpect of the enterpriſers themſelves; who, except they ſtrain hard, preſſe on with much violence, might as well ſit down, and ſet their hearts at reſt, giving over the Kingdome of heaven and eternall Salvation, as a loſt prize: caſt your eyes about which way you will, whether on God, or your ſelves, or the world, enemies or friends, nothing can ſet before us the leaſt door of hope that ever we ſhall come to heaven, *Except we ſtrive to enter in at the ſtraight gate*, Mat. 7. 13. 1. Looke upon God and you ſhall finde that he hath fixed it as an irreverſible order, *that ſuch as ſtrive for maſtery, ſhall not be crowned, except they ſtrive lawfully*, 2 *Tim.* 2 5. We muſt conquer before we triumph; win the Garland before we weare it: we are too well conceited of our ſelves, and preſume too much upon Gods love, without any juſt ground: if we expect that he ſhould bring us by a nearer way, and ſhorter cut, unto eternall glory, than he did his onely begotten ſon, who came not eaſily by his crowne, his conqueſt over death and hell, and the ſpoyles taken from them, were not *Salmacida ſpolia ſine ſanguine & ſudore*, ſpoyles got without ſweat or blood-ſhed, for he did both ſweat and bleed in his ſtriving and ſtrugling for them; and I do not finde where entrance into heaven is propoſed unto us but upon ſuch like termes in quality, I meane not in equality which is impoſſible. *Revel.* 2. 3. *To him that overcommeth will I give to ſit with me on my Throne, even as I alſo overcame and am ſet downe with my Father in his Throne*: Loe here God hath held out his Kingdome as a βραβεῖον, an honourable prize, for brave ſpirits to contend and ſcuffle for: this is the juſt price which he hath pitcht, *He that overcomes*, the Crown is his, upon other termes it cannot be expected. The old rule was τῶν ἀρετῶν ἱδρῶτα θεοί; The Gods ſell all for ſweate, and it is indeed true, that there is nothing of worth in all this world which can be got better cheap: a Scholler cannot compaſſe any competency of skill in the Arts and Sciences without much ſtudy and travell; *Multa tulit fecitque puer ſudavit & alſit*, it will coſt much ſweat and much toyle to excell in learning. A mechanicall artificer cannot thrive nor grow rich in his ordinary trade, without more

more then ordinary diligence; and ſhall we think the Kingdome of heaven will come dropping in our laps, whilſt we ſit ſtill and fold our hands, and will do nothing, or that which is to as little purpoſe as nothing, for it.

I confeſſe that of *Tertullian* in proper ſpeech is moſt true, That nothing of or belonging unto God can be either bought or ſold; God is a moſt liberall Benefactor and gives us all things, even his Kingdome too, freely; we have nothing that good is, in relation to time or eternity, but it comes in upon us as a gratuity; and we for our parts ἐκ ἀντάλλαγμα ἐν χερὶ, we have no price in our hands to give in exchange for ſuch bleſſings, eſpecially the Kingdom of heaven, which his more worth then all the world, though turned into a Globe of gold or mountaine of Diamonds, yet it is as true in another ſence, That all the bleſſings of God, yea even the Kingdome of heaven too, muſt be traded and trafficked for; *Salomon* calls in cuſtomers to the ſhop of truth, and he requires them to buy it; and our Saviour commends this practiſe in two parables, The one of a rich Treaſure, the other of a precious pearle, *Mat.* 13.44, &c. Many ſuch like expreſſions we meete with every where in the Scripture, all which import a kinde of trading and trafficking with God, for the great things of his Kingdom, which muſt be bought and purchaſed by laying out whatſoever we are or have, for them. When we offer him the flower of our deſires, the high-eſt pitch of our affections, and the marrow of our beſt endeavours, this is *pretium legitimum*, God will accept of it, as of a juſt and currant price; and if any bid ſhort of it, and will not be at ſuch coſt for heaven; I can give him no other comfort but this, He may go to hell, if he pleaſe, good cheap.

Pretio res nulla Dei conſtat. Tert.

Eſay 55. 1. Revel. 3.18.

Sapiens nummularius eſt Deus, nummum falſum, nec fractum recipiet. Bern.

2. Looke we towards our ſelves, or the world about us, and we ſhall finde all the contention and violence we can uſe, no leſſe then neceſſary: The Kingdom of heaven is unto us as *Canaan* was unto the *Iſraelites*, a Land of promiſe indeed, but yet a land of conqueſt too; there is a multitude of Gyants, the ſonnes of *Anak* that we muſt encounter with, and prevaile over, ere we can take poſſeſſion of it; there be Gyant-like corruptions in our owne hearts, which will finde us work enough to reſiſt, and much more to over-come them; ſometimes our unbeleefe will daſh our hopes, melt our cou-rage, emaſculate our reſolution as it was with the *Iſraelites*, and the ten low-ſpirited Spies, which gave over *Canaan* as deſperate, becauſe

In reſpect of oppoſition from our ſelves.

becauſe of its fenced Cities, and high battlements, and the ſonnes of *Anak* the great *Zanzummims* that lay in the way, we had neede of a mighty violent operation of faith, to over-looke and over-maſter ſuch difficulties: ſometimes Ambition will ſolicite us with a baite of honour, and other-whiles covetouſneſſe will tempt us with a bribe, to ſtop our courſe; and either, altogether to let our deſigne fall, or elſe to be more remiſſe and moderate in the purſuance of it; here if we be not violent, we lye open to much danger. Its no hard matter for temptations to break in and prevaile, when our deſires linger after ſuch things, when our affections are but luke-warme, and our reſolutions not ſteady, now we are upon the point of being betray'd; a faint denyall begets new ſuites, and a doore left unbarred gives eaſie entrance, *When we cleave not unto God With full purpoſe of heart, Act.* 11. 23. Other things will get in betwixt him and us. Its onely a Spirit ſteeled with Chriſtian reſolution, that can make a man in ſuch aſſaults ſteady and unmoveable like to the Roman *Fabritius*, of whom it was ſaid, That one might as well offer to ſtay the motion of the ſun in the firmament, as to put him out of his way; ſometimes carnall policy will endeavour to take us off, and ſometimes eaſe and ſloath will retard us; and ſometimes carnall feare will hold out a *Gorgons* head of dangers and diſcouragements, telling us there is a Lyon in the way, and that it is better to ſit ſtill then to beſtir our ſelves, and be active, when there is ſo ſmall probability of ſucceſſe. Theſe, and a world of ſuch other oppoſitions and encumbrances, we ſhall be ſure to meete with from our ſelves; we have a traytor that lyes in our owne boſome, an adverſary in our breſt, which will ever and anon endeavour to kill Chriſt in us, as *Hierome* ſpeakes, and to ſmother all deſires, motions, and affections, which proceede from him, or breath after him.

Qui deliberant, deſciverunt, Tacit.

Ecce adverſarius in pectore tuo Chriſtum conatur occidere, Hier. Epiſt. ad Heliod.

2. From Friends.

3. Nor is there leſſe oppoſition to be expected from the world, both friends and enemies will interpoſe hinderances and blockes ſometimes, which we may have much ado to leap over, The world is never more prevalent then when it comes alluring and wooing us in a way of love, with ſweete promiſes and pleaſing blandiſhments. When that Noble *Italian* Marqueſſe *Galeatius Caracciolus* was ſolicited with great offers of preferment from the Emperour and Pope to draw him off from his Religion, it was a ſhrew'd temptation, and would no doubt have taken with him, if he had

beene

been of a flexible Spirit, but he returned this peremptory anſwer, *I eſteem one dayes communion with Jeſus Chriſt, in the Goſpell, above all the honours and riches in the world*; If carnall friends and counſellors aſſault us, with bewitching entreaties, to worke us to a complyancy, we ſhall be hard put to it, to turn them off; except we violently ſtop our eares, againſt their pleaſing charmes, as *Vlyſſes* did againſt the *Syrens* Songs. It may happen ſometimes, that our neereſt kindred and acquaintance, our deareſt parents, or the wives of our boſome, may with weeping eyes, and moving words, winde about us, and offer to miſ-perſwade us, as *Dalilah* did *Sampſon*; and to draw us from God, as *Peter* would have done our Saviour with, Maſter, *Pitty thy ſelfe*; and it will be a great degree of violence, to ſhake them off as Chriſt did him, with, *Get thee behinde me Sathan*: or as Saint *Hierome* exhorts in this caſe, to trample upon the gray beard of our Father, to treade upon the wombe of our Mother that bare us; to ſhake off children and Nephewes, as S. *Paul* ſhook off the Viper from off his hands. It muſt be a fixed and all-conquering reſolution, that can, like *Sampſon*, ſnap a ſunder ſuch cords, and not be bound with them.

Etiam ſi parvulus ex collo pendeat nepos, ſi flens paſſis crinibus ubera quibus te nutrierat mater oſtentet, per calcatum pergite patrem—— ſocium pietatis genus eſt hic eſſe crudelem: Hierom.

4. And if it be no eaſie matter, to make good our reſolutions, againſt the batteries, which we our ſelves, and our friends too often raiſe againſt them; ſurely then we had neede of *Robur & aes triples circa pectus*, a breſt-plate of Adamant, an helmet of ſteele, to make us impenetrable againſt the hail-ſhot of oppoſition, which we muſt expect from our enemies; the more cloſe we cleave to God, and the more we ſeparate in our wayes and courſes, from the world; ſo much greater will be the rage of the devill, and his agents againſt us, to vex us with all harſh tryalls. If we be ſo violently bent, that nothing will ſerve our turne, but a full and through Reformation of Doctrine, Worſhip, and Government; we ſhall meete with as fierce oppoſition as the *Jews* in *Ezra* and *Nehemiahs* time did: a mighty Court-faction, and a Potent Army will be raiſed againſt us, ſo as we ſhall be forced to build the Temple, as they did; with a ſword in one hand, and a trowell in the other. 3. From Enemies.

If the three children, would have beene content to conforme themſelves to the Court Religion, and to reſigne their conſciences to the Kings pleaſure, all had beene well enough; but when they declared a contrary reſolution, and were as ſtiffe as oakes, and

Infantiam Chriſti ſtudioſe perſequuntur & antequam formetur Chriſtus in nobis in ipſo ſtatim converſationis initio ut extinguatur ſpiritus & ſuffocetur vita juſtitiæ penitus elaborant. Cypr. ser. de ſtella & magis.

would not yeeld, then there was but one way with them; an artificiall hell was prepared, and they muſt be *caſt into the burning fiery furnace*, *Dan.* 3. 15. It is, and ever hath beene the elaborate and great deſigne of the world, ſaith S. *Cyprian*, to ſtrangle Chriſt in his cradle, as ſoone as ever he begins to be ſhaped, and formed, and brought forth in the manners and converſation of a Chriſtian, now to kill him in his Infancy.

The Church met with no perſecution, that we reade of, whiles ſhe lay ſlumbring in her drowzie bed, *and opened not the doore to her beloved that knocked*, but when ſhe aroſe and went about the City, and left no corner unſearched, and made all the towne know who ſhe was in love with; now ſhe falls into the Inquiſition; the Prelaticall Faction met with her; *the watch-men and keepers of the walls wounded her, and tooke away her vaile*, with other courſe uſage, *Cant.* 5. 7. When the blinde man had the eyes of his minde, as well as of his body, ſo far enlightned, that he declared himſelfe in the face of the Court, to ſtand for Chriſt; now there was no remedy but he muſt be excommunicated; for the Pontificall tribe had made a Canon, That *whoſoever confeſſed Chriſt, ſhould be put out of the Synagogue*, *John* 9. 22, 34. If once we begin to advance in good earneſt, and ſet forward towards heaven, it will not be long to be ſure, ere ſome furious ſtorme of perſecution be raiſed, to drive us back againe (if poſſible) to the gates of hell. In all theſe, and ſundry other reſpects, there muſt be much fervency in our deſires, affectionate obſtinacy in our reſolutions and endeavours, much wreſtling and conflicting with God and our ſelves, friends, and enemies; or elſe admiſſion, and entrance into the Kingdome of heaven is a thing to be deſpaired of.

Ast opinio quædam & perſuaſio exitialis quæ primum mundum & Jud. vemp. perdidit quæ Noviquoque Teſtamenti cætus vaſtat & ſcholas deſtruit Novum dicitur Evangelium, dogma, vide de miſericordia Dei patris remiſ. peccatorum & ſalute æterna per exteriorum dei cultum conſequenda, Sixt. Amam. in præf. ad Anti-thart.

I come now to inferences of uſe and practiſe, and to omit others which offer themſelves in variety: I pitch upon three onely. 1. For Inſtruction. 2. For Reproofe. 3. For Exhortation. For Inſtruction in two Branches.

1. This may informe us, That Salvation is a prize, not ſo eaſily won, as its commonly Imagined. There is an opinion in the world; * *Paulus Tarnovius* calls it, *Novum Evangelium*, A new Goſpell; that if ſo be a man profeſſe the true Religion, and be Orthodox in his Judgement, and not groſly notorious for any enormious crymes, in his converſation; if he come to Church, and heare the Word, and receive the Sacraments, and have a forme of Godlineſſe,

neſſe, though not the power and life of it; why then ſuch a man ſhall certainely be ſaved. This new Goſpell, as that Reverend and worthy Divine calls it, is an old Deluſion and fallacy of Sathan, which hath prevailed in the world from the beginning; and in all ages, jugled thouſands out of their Salvation; and whereſoever it is received, and entertained, it will be the deſtruction, not of particular perſons alone, but of whole States and Kingdomes, as it was of the old world, and the *Jewiſh Common-wealth*, and of *Germany* too, now of late; if the judgement of that learned man miſtooke not its marke. Oh this ἀδάπανον εὐαγγέλιον, as *Nazianzen* ſpeakes; this new Goſpell without charges, this cheap Religion, which would open us ſuch an eaſie way, with a few good words, with a little wholſome breath, to purchaſe the Kingdome of heaven, we could reliſh it well; its marvellous pleaſing and delightfull to our lazie and ſluggiſh diſpoſitions. As *Marcus Lepidus*, when he ſtretched himſelf, and lay along on the graſſe; *O utinam hoc eſſet laborare*: Oh, ſaith he, that this were to labour, and to get the Maſtery: ſo many of us, when we ſtretch our ſelves, on our beds, like them in *Amos*, and live at eaſe in *Sion*, denying nothing to our carnall affections and appetites, which we have a minde to; Oh, ſay we, that this were to be *violent for the Kingdome of heaven*, for then we would liſt our Names, and be as forward as who moſt: but let us not be deceived, *The Kingdome of God conſiſts not in words, but in power*, 1 *Cor.* 4. 20. If Chriſtianity were a ſoft and delicate profeſſion, were the way to heaven over green meddowes, and floury plaines, ſtrewed with Roſes and Violets; and not beſet with Briers and thornes, with difficulties, encumbrances, and oppoſitions; every *Agrippa* would then be not onely *almoſt, but altogether perſwaded to be a Chriſtian*, every prophane *Eſau* wou'd come in for a ſhare, none would ſit out: but heaven is not got with a wiſh, nor Paradiſe with a ſong. Remiſſion of ſinnes, and the Graces of Regeneration, they are not obtained with a ſigh, victory over all oppoſitions from earth and hell, is not atchieved with a breath: its not dull and faint wiſhes, cold and languiſhing velleities, feeble and heartleſſe endeavours, that can hope to win the crowne of Glory, there muſt be paſſionate longings and breakings of the heart, with continuall deſires after God: the operation of Gods Word upon us, muſt be as a burning fire ſhut up in our bones, *Jer.* 20. 9. Our zeale for God muſt eate us up,

Tull. *de Orat. lib.* 2.

Non eſt ad aſtra mollis a terris via. Sen.

Pſal. 69. 9. *We muſt be valiant for the truth, Jer.* 9. 3. *Reſiſt oppoſitions and temptations unto blood, Heb.* 12. 4. Elſe were there as many heavens as there be dayes in the yeere, we are never like to arrive in any of them.

2. This may let us ſee what we are to judge of temper and moderation in matters of Religion. In other things it is a vertue and worthy of much praiſe, and it is not to be denyed, That even in Religion too, there are ſome things, in which it may have place. When there was too much heate in the Church of *Rome*, about ſome matters of indifferency, not much importing any way, the Apoſtle to calme both parties, and to compoſe them unto moderation, and mutuall bearing with one another; *The Kingdome of God*, ſaith he, *is not meate and drinke, but righteouſneſſe, and peace, and joy in the holy Ghoſt, Rom.* 14. 17. All truth carries Gods ſtampe, and is pretious, but not alike; there be ſome truths of ſuch moment and conſequence, as that they cannot be over violently ſtriven for; but there be others of an inferiour alloy which need not be held, much leſſe preſſed upon others, with ſo hard a hand, ſuch are not a few ſpeculative opinions and rituall practiſes, in matters of externall Worſhip; in contending about which, if the exceſſes of zeale, were corrected and allayed, with a little cooling of moderation, no doubt it would be much better then now it is with the Church of God. Its a good rule to this purpoſe, that of the famous Chauncellour of *Paris*: *Honey is good with the honey comb, and ſo is the Savour of Devotion, when it is ſeaſoned with a diſcreete mixture of moderation.*

Bonum eſt mel cum favo Sapor ſcilicet devotionis cum moderamine diſcretionis, Gerſon.

But although it be true, that in theſe punctilioes, as it were, in Religion, moderation is a Jewell, yet in the profeſſion and practiſe of thoſe maine fundamentalls of Faith, and Worſhip, with other ſuperſtructions, neerly bordering and coaſting thereupon, it is far otherwiſe. In theſe things its eaſie to be too moderate, but impoſſible to be over-violent. If we ſeeme to be tranſported into an extaſie, ſo as the world judgeth us to be beſides our ſelves, it matters not much; *If we be beſides our ſelves, it is unto God*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 13. Religion is a tender buſineſſe, and of great concernment; the glory of God, and our Salvation, depends on it; and as *Calvin* ſaid, of drawing too much water out of the well of life; ſo may I, of drawing out our Spirits in too much violence for the honour of God. I do not know where any man is blamed in all the Scripture for

Non legimus reprehenſos qui nimium de fonte aquæ vitæ hauſerint, Cal. *præf. ad Inſtitut.*

for ſuch a fault. If it were poſſible that in hearing the Word, a man were all eare, if in prayer he could be rapt up into an extaſie in mourning for ſin, if he could melt out his ſoule at his eyes; in all the other parts of worſhip and practiſes of piety, could he be all devotion, and pure, pute zeale, it would become him well, and there ſhould be no danger of exceeſſe; How is it poſſible, that we ſhould have too much of that whereof we can never have enough?

The world is generally of another minde, a little violence in matters of Religion, a very little upon the knives point will ſuffice, a dram or two is enough of all conſcience; but for moderation, as much of that as you will, the more the better; This is the opinion of Politicians, Court-Divines, and all the reſt of that ſtampe, they cry up that boſome-Idoll of diſcretion, as the onely fit temper, for a wiſe and well-compoſed Chriſtian; and if ſparklings of zeale, breake out, and diſcover themſelves, If any violence appeare, this they cry down as faction, folly, frenzie. It hath indeede beene ever ſo with this wiſe world in all ages.

When our Saviour was ſo wholly taken up with the great affaires of the Kingdome of God, riſing up early to Preach, and continuing often whole nights in prayer, ſo as he had no leaſure, no not to eate; his friends out of meere pitty, good folkes, *ſent to lay hold on him; for they ſayd, he was gone beſides himſelfe*, *Mark.* 3. 21. The like cenſure paſt upon Saint *Paul*, becauſe he was earneſt and zealous in the cauſe of God, it was thought he was gone mad, the man ſure had loſt his diſcretion. *Act.* 26. 24. And Saint *Baſil* when he was paſſionately eager againſt the *Arrian* faction, then prevalent at Court, this was interpreted a ſymptome of dotage. If men will not be baffled out of their Religion, the wiſe world counts them fooles, and furious zealots, and complains ſore of them, for want of moderation. The leſſe wonder it is that our Honourable Senate, which hath ſhewed ſo much zeal for God, ſhould meete with the ſame meaſure, from Malignant and ill-affected ſpirits. Among other virulent invectives, this is clamored againſt your Religious proceedings, with the greateſt noyſe, That you are and have been *over violent*; Oh you have undon the Kingdom with an high and Imperious reformation, you have let it blood in the *Baſiliks veine*: In ſum, the Phyſicke hath been worſe then the diſeaſe, ſuch cavils and calumnies, are rife againſt you, in the mouths of your enemies, who in this, like Lapwings, cry aloofe from their neſts

Quoditiana formax noſtra Maledicentium lingua, Auſt.

neſts, the truth is, they have a bitter, and moſt enraged deſpight againſt you, for preventing, and counter-myning their execrable and Acheronticall deſignes: they hate you moſt of all becauſe you will not ſuffer them to deſtroy three Kingdomes, and to pull up Religion and property by the roots. This is the ground of their malevolent aſperſions; ferrit their complaints to the bottome, and you ſhall finde that this is it, That you have with all your force and ſtrength reſiſted them who would deſtroy us all, ruine Religion, introduce Popery and Tyranny, and purchaſe the meanes of damnation to us and our poſterity. *Hinc ille lachrymæ*, Hence are theſe vollies of ſlanders, reproaches, and imputations diſcharged againſt you, in which the enemies deale alike with you, for all the world, as *Fimbria* a mad fellow of *Rome*, dealt with *Scævola*, againſt whom having a quarrell, and endeavouring to murther him, with a ſudden ſtab; becauſe he braided aſide a little, and warded the blow, ſo as it proved not mortall, therefore he commenced an Action of treſpaſſe againſt him, and ſued him at the Law; and wot you what was the Indictment, *Quod telum toto corpore non excepiſſet*, For that he would not open his body, and ſuffer him to run up his dagger unto the hilts.

Or as *Caligula* when he practiſed to poyſon a man, in a ſlye underhand way, and the man ſuſpecting the worſt, tooke a counterpoyſon to prevent the miſchiefe: the gentle, kind-natured Emperour, thought it was foule play, and complained much of the Iniquity of the times; that men would be taking Antidotes againſt *Cæſar*. No doubt a very haynous crime, a juſt and rationall complaint and ſibbe to this againſt us, that we will not all lye downe and quietly ſuffer our throats to be cut, our Cities fired, countries waſted, and all we have, taken from us.

But to return to the matter, whence I have a little ſtrayed, juſt indignation tranſporting me: Honoured worthies, you will, I know like the Moone in the heavens, hold on your courſe, though dogs and bawling curres, barke never ſo much, you ſhall never have cauſe to repent of your zeale and piety towards God; the next morning after you are arrived in heaven, you will thinke all your labour and coſt well beſtowed, and repent (were it poſſible) that you have not done, and ſuffered more; and for the preſent, the leſſe reſpect and thankes you finde from wicked men, the more eſteeme and honour you ſhall have with God, and all that are vertuouſly diſpoſed;

diſpoſed; yea that zeale and piety of yours, for which you are ſo much maligned, and traduced it ſhall make your memory precious unto the preſent age, and to all poſterity; and when the names of your enemies ſhall rot above ground (as they do already) and they themſelves ſhall be rung down with a peale of Satyres to their graves, your names ſhall be as ſweete as perfume, the generations to come ſhall embalme them with honour, the children yet unborn ſhall riſe up, and call you bleſſed, and every one that reades your Chronicles, or heares of your worthy acts, ſhall ſay, This was the Reforming Parliament, which did, and ſuffered more for God, then ever any that was before it; *many Parliaments have done worthily, but this hath excelled them all.*

2 This Text and Doctrine may ſerve like the knuckles of a mans hand, appearing on the wall to *Balthazzar*, to write unto many their ſad doome, to reade them their deſtiny, they are never like to come neere to the Kingdome of heaven. Of this ſort are not a few: 2. For Reproof.

1. Such as are enemies to the progreſſe and proceedings of the Goſpell, whether cloſe and ſecret, or open and notorious; there be many glozing Malignants, that can bite in their malice, calme their lookes, ſmooth their foreheads; but their hearts ſwell like the Sea in a ſtorme: If they could raiſe any tempeſts, cauſe any commotion, and the occaſions and junctures of affaires would permit them to do it with advantage, we ſhould taſte as much of their Malignity, as of the moſt deſperate oppoſers, *Gebal*, *Ammon*, and *Amaleck* they are now knotted together in a confederacy, and up in Armes; pillaging, ſpoyling, plundering, and laying all waſte before them, *With a rage that reacheth up unto heaven*, 2 *Chron.* 28.9. *Tobiah* and *Sanballet* were not in a more pelting chafe, when the Temple and City of *Jeruſalem* were like to be reedified. *Herod* and *Jeruſalem* were not more troubled when they heard that ſad and damping newes, That Chriſt was borne, then theſe malignants and Incendiaries are ſtartled at the noyſe of a Reformation. The powerfull comming in of Chriſt into his Kingdome, the Majeſty and luſtre of pure Worſhip and Ordinances is unto them (night-birds as they are) formidable as the ſun-ſhine to the Owle, or as the light of heaven to *Cerberus* the dogge of hell; they abhor it as the darkneſſe and ſhadow of death. Oh the bright ſtar of *Jacob*! the riſing and Orient luſtre of it, to ſuch as *love darkeneſſe better then light*,

light, it is of an Ominous and diſmall preſage, it portends their kingdome will come downe, their miſ-giving hearts are afraid of the ſcorching Influence of it, as the devills were of Chriſts coming, *leſt it ſhould torment them before the time*, *Mat.* 8. 29. And now, is it poſſible, trow ye, that ſuch ſonnes of *Belial*, to whom the preſence of Chriſt in his Ordinances and Worſhip, is the greateſt burthen and torment, and as it were an hell upon earth; Is it poſſible that ſuch ſhould ever expect or conceive the leaſt hope of reigning with him for ever in heaven? Oh, yes, they pretend for heaven as much, and as loud as any others, and they are for Religion too, even *for the true Reformed Proteſtant Profeſſion*, and they are zealous, yea violent for it, and that is the reaſon (you muſt beleeve them) why they have drawne their ſwords, and taken up Armes; Its for no other end doubtleſſe, but to defend the true Proteſtant profeſſion, with his Majeſties juſt Prerogative and Crown-rights, which the Parliament with the faction of Browniſts, and Anabaptiſts that adhere to it endeavour to deſtroy. Its a true ſaying that of the Romane Orator, * There is nothing ſo horrid, no cauſe ſo deſperate, which may not be palliated and covered over with glorious and glittering pretences; As *Herod* would have the wiſemen bring him word, when they had found Chriſt, *for he meant to come and worſhip the babe*, when his intent was to ſlay it. But as *Tertullian* wittily told the Gentiles, when they contended ſo fiercely for the worſhip of *Jupiter*, That whatſoever they pretended, *Cæſar* was their chiefe God, and that they worſhipped him with more devotion, then *Jupiter*; The like may I ſay of theſe *Herodians*, or Court-zealots, call them what you will, and let them pretend what they liſt for God, they are *Cæſars* by whole-ſale in Religion, affection, conſcience, ſoule, and body, and all *Cæſars*; they meaſure Religion by the length of the Scepter, being reſolved to beleeve the worſt of Popery, and to practiſe the worſt of Tyranny, even to the deſtruction of the three Kingdomes, if *Cæſar* do but pleaſe to declare the one to be the *True Reformed Proteſtant Profeſſion*, and the other, *The due Rights and Priviledges of Parliament*; much like the *Boutefew* that *Tully* ſpeakes of, *C. Blos: Cumanus* I think it was, that would, to ſhew his affection to his friend, do whatſoever he ſhould bid him, though it were to ſet fire on the Capitoll.

* *Nihil tam incultum tam horridum quod non ſplendeſcat Oratione & tanquam exolatur*, Cic.

Majore formidine Cæſarem obſervatis quam Jovem. Tert.

Quid ſi faces in ſeire juſſiſſet in capitolium nunquaid paruiſſes? Reſpondit minquam juſſiſſet id quidem ſed ſi juſſiſſet utique paruiſſem Cic. de Amic.

2 Not all out ſo deſperate, though bad enough, is another ſort of neutralizing temporizers, that are juſt of *Gallios* temper, for matter of

of Religion, not caring a jot whether the Arke or Dagon be ſet up, whether Chriſt or Antichriſt prevaile, the true Religion or Popery; both, or neither, to them is a matter of indifferency, and not ſo much as the turning of an hand; they paſſe not at all for ſuch things; onely, they have the diſcretion to ſet their ſayles as the wind blowes, and to wheele about as they ſee occaſion, that they may be of the prevayling ſide; much like the man in *Macrobius*, who during the times of civill war betwixt *Antony* and *Auguſtus Cæſar*, had with much Art and diligence taught his two crowes their ſeverall notes, the one to ſay *Ave Imperator Antoni*, the other, *Ave Imperator Auguſte*; that ſo when the warres ſhould be over, and the controverſie determined, whether party ſoever prevayled, he might be ſure to have a bird for the Conquerour. If there chance to be any ſuch within theſe walls, I wiſh they would ſadly and ripely conſider that ſpeech of our Saviour, *He that is not with me is againſt me, Mat.* 12. 30. and that grave expreſſion of a great Prelate, This cauſe of God is of that Nature, that if a man do not appeare in it, and gather with Chriſt, he ſcattereth from him, there being no middle condition poſſible in which a man can cloſe or ſide with any other than the devill, who joynes not with Chriſt.

Biſhop *Andrews in Tort. Torti. Neque enim eſt ullus uſi locus medius ut ſis niſi cum diabolo qui non eſt cum Chriſto*, Aug.

3. Such as value their wealth, eaſe, credit, reputation, above Chriſt and his Kingdome; to come to Church now and then, to heare the Word, performe ſome cheape outward duties which may looke like a forme of godlineſſe, none will blame them for this. It were diſgracefull to be Atheiſts; unprofitable to be Papiſts, or recuſants, thus far they go and its faire too, but to be at any expence for Chriſt, to purchaſe his kingdom with any prejudice to themſelves in their credit or eſtates, he muſt pardon them for that they love a Religion (contrary to *Davids* diſpoſition) which will coſt them nothing; theſe have taken the Covenant, many of them onely to ſave charges, for they ſpare not to profeſſe that they will truſt God with their ſoules (though they perjure) rather then the Parliament with their Eſtates. They will laſh out more in furniſhing a banket, or ſome unneceſſary entertainment, ſpend more in one caſt at Bowles or Dice, then ever they can be gotten to part with all their life long, for the glory of God, the upholding of his cauſe, and Goſpell, and the preſervation of an 100000. Chriſtians, in the three Kingdomes: the men of this world, they are violent

for their Mammon: Give them the fatneſſe of the earth, Take the dew of heaven who will: A right brood of old *Gadarens*, who can be content to have a whole Legion of Devils rooſt in the Kingdome, and neſtle in their own hearts, as in ſtrong holds, rather than they will be at ſo much coſt, as the loſſe of their hoggs, to purchaſe the diſpoſſeſſion of them.

4. There be others that ſeeme violent in matters of Religion, none more forward in appearance then they, but they are not ſincere and cordiall. As it is with them that are ſicke of a Fever, while the face and outward parts burne, the heart quakes and ſhivereth with cold, ſo it is with theſe pretenders; their countenance, *Jehu* like, is full of fluſhing heate; in their face and outward carriage you may ſee their zeale for the Lord, but if you could put but your hands within their breſts, you ſhould finde their hearts *Nabal*-like, as cold as a ſtone. Its no new deviſe, but an old trick of hypocriticall ſpirits, to ſeeme devout onely for their owne ends, to drive their own deſignes under a colour of being zealous for God. *Ignatius* obſerved, there were ſome of this ſtamp in his time, who made a trade and an occupation of Chriſt, to get wealth by him, ſhuffling in Religon, to deale themſelves a thriving game in the world.

Pone in pectore dextram, nil calet. Perſ.

ἐχεστατοὶ ἀλλὰ χειρέμποροι. Ign.

I know not whether it be true, but the *Vox Populi*, the Common opinion and voyce of the people is, That in Country, City, Armies, I hope not in the Parliament, there are and have beene too many, who in publike places of Imployment, at the publike charge, drive their private deſignes; enjoying both at once, and improving the miſeries of the times by dilatory proceedings, dead pay, falſe muſters, betraying of advantages, and letting opportunities of action ſlip, with other ſtratagems and feates of politicy, *very depths of Sathan*, profound as hell, which I have not wit enough to reach. If there be any ſuch *Judas's*, maſked devills, here, let me informe them; If their boſome intelligencer, their Conſciences I meane, be aſleepe, perhaps it may arouſe them a little, that thunderbolt, *Eſay* 29. 15. *Wo unto them that dig deepe, and ſeeke to hide their Counſell from the Lord, and their workes are in the darke, and they ſay, who ſeeth, and who knoweth us*: and let them take that along with them too, *Eſay* 30. 33. *There is a Tophet prepared of old, its deepe and large, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord like a ſtreame of brimſtone kindles it*; and let me tell them yet further,

If

If this fiery gulfe be not for ſuch, I do not know whether it can challenge any gueſts.

5. There be others, zealous in Religion, but not enough; they have like the *Laodicean* Angell and Church, ſome heate which makes them luke-warme, but they are not violent, their dram of zeale is tempered with ſo many ounces of diſcretion, that the operation of it can ſcarce be diſcerned; they are Orthodox in opinion, not much exorbitant in converſation, owne the great cauſe of the Kingdom, ſet their faces towards heaven, are not againſt Reformation: but then they muſt not be over-driven, you muſt not put them out of their owne pace, they like not a *Iehu's* March. Its good to be zealous, but not too much, ſay any what they will, doe what they can, their affected moderation will never ſuffer them to exceede the middle temper of that wiſe Stateſman in *Tiberius* his Court, who to be ſure would not ſtrike a ſtroke againſt the ſtreame, nor engage himſelfe ſo far in any cauſe, as might tend to his prejudice; how-ever the world went, he would be ſure to ſave one. Such is the polititian and wordly wiſe-man, he will move no ſtone, though never ſo needfull to be removed, if he ſuſpect that there lyes a Scorpion under it, or if he apprehend the leaſt feare, that any part of the wall will fall upon himſelfe; well fare yet the Roman Conſul, that incomparable patriot, who in his private and retired condition, when he was removed from the Helme of the Common-wealth, imployed all his force and ſtrength to keep off thoſe waves from the great veſſell of the State, which had well-nigh drowned the cock-boat of his owne private Fortunes.

Ille igitur nunquam dixit brachia contra Torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera poſſet verba animis proferre vitamque impendere vero. Juven. ſat. 3.

Tempus omne poſt conſulatum obiecimus iis fluctibus, qui per nos a communi peſte depulſi in noſmetipſos redundarunt, Cic. de orat. lib. 2.

6. There be others zealous and violent for a while, but they hold not out to the end: The Philoſopher ſayes, *No violent thing laſts long*, Its true in Divinity, as well as in Nature: If the violent motion proceede from ſome externall artificiall cauſe, and not from a rooted ſtirring principle within, when that which is the cauſe is removed, the motion ariſing from it ceaſeth. If our violent ſtirrings and heates of zeale, be not from the right fountaine of heate, the heart; tract of time and other occurrances will becalm them by degrees, and wear them out: the ſtony ground ſet forward, and put on with great animoſity at the firſt, but when difficulties and unlooked for dangers, when a ſtorme of perſecution aroſe, then they plucked in the tender horne, their zeale cooled, their courage abated, their reſolutions fell like leaves in Autumne. In the beginning

ning of this Parliament, when the Lord tolled us on with freſh mercies, and allured us into the wilderneſſe as the Prophet ſpeakes, *that there he might give us the valley of* Achor *for a doore of hope*; when every day we were *paſti miraculis* as *Cyprian* ſpeakes, feaſted with miracles in ordinary, the Lord ſetting himſelfe on purpoſe to ingage us firmely in his worke, by divers rare and aſtoniſhing providences, that all bridges might be cut off, and that we might never thinke to retire backe againe; At that time, many that were not ſound at the heart-roote, joyned with us, and who more reſolute then they, but when the wheele of Providence ſeemed to turne, and many ſad clouds began to gather and threaten a ſtorme, now they tacked about, and ſet their ſailes backe; they were willing to follow us out of *Egypt* when they had ſeene the wonders and miracles of God at our departure thence; but when they came into the wilderneſſe, and met with Scorpions and fiery Serpents, and great afflictions, then their hearts fainted, and they fell on murmuring as the unbeleeving *Jewes*, and that mixed multitude did, *Numb.* 11. 4. A man might as well never own the cauſe of God, as afterwards deſert it; whatſoever a man hath done and ſuffered for Religion, (and there be many that have done and ſuffered much,) Its al loſt and forgotten, when once he begins to looke backe, *Ezek.* 18. 24. *Judas*, and *Demas*, and *Hymæneus*, and *Alexander* the Copperſmith, with other ſuch flinchers; what were they the better for all their hopefull beginnings, when afterwards they declined, their zeale being all ſpent, their violence tyred, and all their alacrity loſt. Its not good beginnings, but perſeverance in Religion, that takes this glorious prize, and wins the garland. *Be faithfull unto the death and I will give thee a Crown of life. Revel.* 2. 10.

7. I may not paſſe over another ſort without a gentle touch, ſuch I meane as are unfeinedly cordiall in the cauſe of God, and zealous for it, yet do not a little hurt to themſelves and others, and the Cauſe it ſelfe too, through their indeſcreete and unwary managing of it: they deſire nothing more then this, That Chriſt might raigne, and weild the Scepter of his Kingdom, according to his own hearts content, in all the parts of the land; they are active in endeavours for Reformation, and this deſerves juſt praiſe, but they ſtep out of their bounds ſometimes, exceede the limits of their ſpeciall calling in which the Will of God is, they ſhould containe themſelves.

Now

How happy were it for us, if all would keepe within their proper ſpheare, and *wherein ſo ever they are called therein, to abide with God*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 24. But there be ſome that do ὑπερτείνειν *overſtretch themſelves beyond their line and Compaſſe*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 14. They reach and ſtraine after a perfect Reformation of the Church, and that is well, but they run before the Parliament, and do anticipate the worke, taking it out of thoſe able and faithfull hands, unto which God hath committed it, and that deſerves juſt cenſure. *That have a great zeale of God*, Oh that it were a little more according to *knowledge!* We have all entred into the bonds of a Religious Conant with God, in which among other things we have vowed our utmoſt endeavours to reforme Religion, Worſhip, Government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the beſt Reformed Churches; and withall, to draw the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes, to the neareſt uniformity; and to labour the extirpation of hereſies, ſects, and ſchiſmes, which how we can make good, if every one take liberty to reare up a model and platforme, according to his owne principles, without reſpect unto publique Authority I cannot ſee. How can it be avoyded, but there will be diviſions in the worke, when thoſe that ſhould carry it on, act ſeverall wayes without any regard to one another. I wiſh ſuch would conſider, that zeale in Religion, though it be exceeding good and neceſſary, yet it needes a ſober guide: much wiſedome is requiſite to preſcribe when and where, and how far, and in what manner and order to proceede in carrying on a worke of ſo great conſequence, as a publique Church-Reformation is. Zeale, except it be ordered aright, in conflicting with corruptions and abuſes, whether reall or pretended, uſeth the razor ſometimes with ſuch eagerneſſe, that Religion it ſelfe is thereby endangered, and through hatred of tares, the good corne in the field of God is pluckt up. That which *Iſocrates* ſaid of ſtrength, is as true of zeale, that if it be tempered with ſound wiſedome, and a right Judgement, it doth much good, but without ſuch a mixture it doth much miſchiefe to our ſelves and others, like Granadoes and other fire Workes, which if they be not well looked to, and diſcreetly ordered, when they break, do more hurt to thoſe that caſt them, then to the enemy: no man can be ignorant of the ill effects of an indiſcreet and ill governed zeale, which like unto a fire, when it burnes out of compaſſe, ſets all the houſe and towne in a combuſtion; It may perhaps

Rom. 10. 2.

ῥᾴμη μὲν μὴ φρονήσεως ὠφέλησι δὲ καὶ δίς τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος ἔλασσε, Iſoc. ad Dem.

haps, juſtly be doubted, whether a too ſlack moderation, or an over-violent zeale, be worſe; ſeeing the one does no good, and the other does much hurt; diſcretion, without zeale, is ſlow paced; and zeale without diſcretion, heady; take therefore St. *Bernards* counſell, let zeale ſpur on diſcretion, and diſcretion reine zeale, joyne them both together, and the conjunction will be lovely.

Fervor diſcretionem erigat, & diſcretio fervorem regat. Ber. *Ser. in Cant.*

3 Vſe of Exhortation.

I would not willingly drop one word to quench one ſparke of any true Heaven-bred zeale, my errand is as our Saviours was, rather to kindle this *fire*, *Luke* 12. 49. *which every Sacrifice muſt be ſalted with*, *Marke* 9. 4. Let us all labour to blow up and to keepe alive this Sacred fire, upon the Altar of our hearts, that it may inflame our devotion towards God, kindle our love towards men, and burne out all our owne corruptions; let it never coole with age, nor abate with oppoſition, nor be quenched with any floods of perſecution whatſoever.

1. Its neceſſary.

1. As the Apoſtle ſaid of patience, ſo may I of zeale, we have all neede of it, eſpecially Reformers. 1. Becauſe of the glory of God, which we ought to have a tender reſentment of, more then of our owne lives, or whatſoever is deare or precious unto us in this world. Our Saviour reſented the injuries and reproaches offered unto God, as done unto himſelfe, *Rom.* 15. 2 Becauſe of the honour and happineſſe of the Church, which we ought to prefer before all our owne Intereſts, *Pſal.* 137. 6. I have read of *Ambroſe*, that he was ſo zealous for the Church, that he wiſhed any ſtorme might light upon himſelfe, rather then the State of it ſhould be endangered: Reverend *Calvin* would be content, to ſaile over ten Seas for an uniforme draught of Religion, amongſt the Evangelicall Churches. *Moſes* and *Paul* were ſo tranſcendent in this kinde of zeale, that they would have redeemed the Churches loſſes with their owne damnation. 3 Becauſe of the great difficulties and obſtructions which we muſt make account to encounter with. If you ſet your faces towards *Sion*, the *Jebuſites* hold it, which you muſt remove, with an Hoſt of Idolls to boote, even *the blind and the lame, the abhorring of Davids ſoule, or elſe yon ſhall never take the Fort*, 2 *Sam.* 5, 6, 7. If you will endeavour with *Elias* to put down the Prieſts of *Baal*, *Jezabel* will ſend you a meſſage of defiance, threatning to make the Land too hot for us: There are many Lyons that lye in our way; its onely a zealous violence that can *Sampſon*-like get victory over them, and honey out of them. If we declare our ſelves

Ne decem quidem maria tranſcurrere pigeret. Cal. ad Prot. Ang.

ſelves for heaven, all the faction and power of hell will be up in Armes againſt us. Therefore we have neede of much *violence*.

2. This will ſtand us in much ſtead. 1. It will make us bold and daring, it will put us upon the uttermoſt adventures. Love and zeale will, if neede be, run upon the Cannons mouth, dare through deaths gauntlet, *Cant.* 8.7. *Eſther knew not whether ſhe ſhould prevaile, yet ſhe would venture, though to the apparent hazarding of her Crowne and life, Eſt.* 4. 16. Zeale and love bluſh at the Name of difficulty. 2. It will quicken you up to mighty endeavours; a bow full bent will violently deliver the Arrow, and carry it home to the marke with full ſtrength; a peece full charged will go off with great force. A zealous Chriſtian is like a ſhip, ſaith *Clemens*, carried on with full ſayles towards heaven. 3. It will make you conſtant and ſteady; That's no heaven-borne violence, which tract of time or oppoſition weares out. True zeal is like the Philoſophers λίθος ἄσβεστος, a ſparkling firy ſtone, no floods can quench it. 4. It will make us prevalent and ſucceſſefull in our endeavours, if any thing in the world can. Love is a pleaſing Tyrant, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, the power of it is above all power, it raignes over all impediments in heaven and earth, prevailing both with God and man as *Jacob* did.

2. Its Vſefull.

Amorem erubeſcit ad nomen difficultatis.

Nαὸς καγχελλόμενος, *Clem. Alex.*

Stella eadem non eſt ſtella cometa fuit.

ὄντως δὲ ὄντως πασης της περιστάσεως καὶ ἀγάπη τυραννικωτέρα, Chryſ.

This zeale then being ſo neceſſary and uſefull, labour we to get our hearts ſtored with it, and ſee that it be of the right ſtampe, ſincere and upright, ayming onely at the right end, Gods glory and the Churches good. Let there be no ſonnes of *Zebedee* among us, to project for themſelves places of honour *at the right hand or the left*, when Chriſt comes into his Kingdome; away with all private deſignes, preſerve we our intentions ſingle and ſincere, and we ſhall proſper the better. 2. Let our zeale flame out upon all occaſions, let nothing ſmother the operation of it: *Ariſtotle* writes of the bathes in the *Pythecuſian* Iſlands, that they are fiery hot, yet ſend out no flame; I cannot commend ſuch a zeale, which is ſmothered and pent up in the heart, and gets no vent, hath no externall operation; a treaſure concealed, and an hidden vertue are both alike. When that prophane King had burnt the Roll, *the Prophet wrote it over againe with an addition of many other like words, Jer.* 36. 32. The more Gods Worſhip, Ordinances, Servants, are oppoſed, the more will true-hearted Zealots appeare for them, to aſſiſt and vindicate them. They write of a fiſh that hath a ſword, but no heart, but

Balnea in Pythacuſiis Inſulis ferrent ſupra modum calore & ui ignea, nec tamen flammas emittunt. Ariſt. de mirab. oſcu.

but I hope better things of you. 3. Let your zeale be guided by the right Rule, which is the Word of God. In al your conſultations and reſolutions, let the Law and the Teſtimony be your Oracle. Its a Kingdome of heaven that you are bound for, and therefore your courſe muſt be like that of the Mariners, guided by the heavens. If you ſteere your courſe by any other line, ſure you will never arrive where you would be, at the faire havens. The Heathens themſelves never undertooke any great worke about the affaires of ſtate, till they had conſulted the face of the Heavens: what they did out of blind ſuperſtition, do you from a principle of true Religion. 4. When you have taken your aimes right, and made choyce of fit meanes to compaſſe them, let God alone with the ſucceſſe, he will make good the iſſue, and turne all to the beſt. As *Quintillian* ſaid of a Pilot, ſo may I of you, whiles you hold the ſtearne and guide the compaſſe right, you cannot be blamed, although the great veſſell of the State ſhould be caſt away, and wracked in the ſtorme, which yet I hope it never will be.

Priuſquam de cæli ſtatum effet. Cic. de Araſp. Reſp.

Dummodo clavum rectum teneam.

Sapientiâ eſt nil præſtare præter culpam.

Furthermore it concernes us all in common, but you more eſpecially, moſt worthy Patriots; not onely to labour for our owne particulars, to take hold on this Kingdom with all violence, but alſo to prepare way for others, that they may come up to it, or rather indeede that it may come downe to them. As *David* therefore in a violent raviſhment of deſire, that the Temple might be built, cryed, *Pſal.* 24. 9 10. *Lift up your heads oh ye gates, and be ye lift up ye everlaſting doores, and the King of glory ſhall come in*; So let me addreſſe the like deſire to you, that are the Heads of our Tribes, and have the keyes of the Kingdome of Great *Brittaine*, hanging at the doores of your Honourable Senate Houſe. Oh, let all the gates and doores of the Kingdome, and of all the Counties, Cities, Pariſhes in it, be ſet wide open, *That the King of Glory may come in.* The eyes of many thouſands in the Land, and a great part of Chriſtendome too, are now upon you; you are in the hearts of all the Saints in all the Churches, eſpecially thoſe at home, who are ready to live and dye with you, and what is their expectation and deſire other then this, That Chriſt may raigne as an All-Commanding King, over his owne houſe; That Doctrin, Worſhip, Government, may be all exact, according to the Patterne in the Mount. Helpe on this much-deſired Work.

Significanter dicitur in oratione Dominica adveniat Regnum tuum i. e. ad nos veniat quia virtute noſtra ad ipſum pervenire non poſſumus, Gerſon.

1. By ſetting a faithful, pious, and learned Miniſtery. Be not offended

offended that I touch upon this ſtring once more. How meane apprehenſions ſoever any may have of this great Ordinance of God, Preaching of the Goſpell, yet it is no other thing then the Scepter of Chriſts Kingdome, the Royall Mace that is lifted up and born before him, his triumphing chariot, in which he *rides conquering and to conquer*, *Revel.* 6. 2. God is wont to hang the greateſt weights upon the ſmalleſt wires, *The Salvation of the world depends upon this fooliſhneſſe of preaching*, 1 Cor. 1. 21. Bleſſed be God, he hath given us his Word, and if we could but adde what is next in the *Pſal.* 68. 11. *Great is the multitude of them that publiſh it, Sathan would ſoone fall downe like lightning*, and we ſhould have an heaven upon earth. We are zealous againſt *Babylon*, and its well that we are ſo: I will ſhew you a way how to ſtorme downe the proud walls and battlements of it without any Petards or Cannon ſhot or Engines of warre, not ſo much need of theſe; *The ſound of Rammes hornes will ſerve the turne. Revel.* 14. 6. When *the Angell flyes in the midſt of heaven, with an everlaſting Goſpell to Preach*: the next Newes is, *verſ.* 8. *Babylon is fallen.* This preaching, it will be the ruine of the man of ſin: it will ſpring a Myne under his Thron, and beat down all his power and glory into the duſt. *Maxima ex minimis ſuſpendit.*

2. If you would have a learned conſciencious miniſtry, do as *Hezekiah*, *Command the people to give the Prieſts and Levites their portion, that they may be incouraged in the Law of the Lord*, 2 *Chron.* 31. 4. Let there be due proviſion of oyle, for all the Lamps of the Sanctuary, and let there be worthy incouragements for all the ſeverall profeſſions of learning, eſpecially the ſacred. If learning ſhould decay, as ſome (I hope without ground) feare it will, what can we looke for but an Inundation of Popery, Atheiſme, prophaneneſſe, ſects, hereſies, with all manner of Barbarity. In the memory of our Fathers, when it pleaſed the Lord to raiſe up *Luther*, *Melancton*, *Calvin*, and many other choyce ſpirits; it was unto the Churches, even like unto a *reſurrection from the dead*: the Reſurrection of learning brought with it a reſurrection of Religion, and a freſh ſpring of the Goſpell, which, bleſſed be God, continues ſtill, and flouriſhes to this day.

3 But now that I have made mention of learning, I may not without piacular neglect paſſe over the two Seminaries and ſeed-plots of it, without a word or two. It was a ſad complaint of *Luther*, againſt moſt of the Univerſities of *Europe*, that they were

become chaires of Peſtilence, and the very ſtewes and brothels of Antichriſt. God forbid that any ſhould harbour any ſuch apprehenſion of ours. Bleſſed be God they have beene worthy Nurſeries and ſchooles of the Prophets, both of them; and I hope they will continue ſo ſtill: Howſoever, it were good to caſt a little more ſalt into theſe Springs, that the waters of life iſſuing from them may be more ſweete and wholeſome, and that there may be no death nor barrenneſſe, nor any thing cauſing miſcarriage in them, 2 *King.* 29. 10. The common complaint is, That the two breaſts, though they be not quite dryed up, yet they yeeld neither ſo much milke, nor ſo wholeſome now of late, as in former times; that it is now adulterated, and brewed with mixtures, its eaſie to know whence; The way to heale all, were to plant more wholeſome, heavenly, and powerfull preaching there: St. *Baſil* tells, That when men were deſirous, in his dayes, to ſtore themſelves with Doves in their houſes, they tooke ſome of a milke white colour, and perfumed them with odours and ſweete oyntments, and they flying abroad, allured home, with their ſent, all they met withall: oh that we had a brood of ſuch Doves richly perfum'd with Myrrhe, Aloes, and Caſſia, men anoynted, I meane with the ſpirit and graces of Jeſus Chriſt, which are more ſweet and odoriferous then all the unctions elſe in the world. If there were ſome of theſe ſent abroad into Country, City, Court, and Univerſity, how would multitudes flocke after them, *like Doves into their windowes? Eſay* 60. 8.

Pleræque omnes Chriſtiani orbis academiæ ſunt cathedræ peſtilentiæ & luſanaria Antichriſti, Luth.

4. If you would have Chriſt raigne fully, freely, univerſally, all the Kingdome over, let the Reformation then which is intended, advance freely and fully, and let it be, firſt, thorow and exact; that no *Rome* be left for a throne of Sathan in any corner: we would be loath that God ſhould put us off with halfe a deliverance, why ſhould we put him off with halfe a reformation. 2. Let it be ſwift and ſpeedy, let it not alwaies thus ſticke in the birth, but give it quicke expedition and diſpatch; our Saviours rule is, *primum quærite, Mat.* 6. 33. *Seeke fixſt the Kingdome of God,* before and above, *all other things*; God takes it ill, and ſhewes himſelfe angry with the Jewes, and chides them ſore for neglect of this, *Hag.* 1. 4. *Is it time for you to dwell in your cieled houſes, whiles this houſe lyes waſte?* God gives us as he did them, leave to have a due regard of our owne houſes, but his worke ſhould alwayes in order precede ours,

Minus ſoluit qui tardius ſoluit, Elem. Juriſp.

ours, as it doth in worth and dignity. Other cauſes may, and muſt waite, till that which is of greateſt Importance be diſpatched: it was a worthy reſolution that of *Nehemiah*, when the enemies ſent a Trumpeter, as it were to beate for a parlee; *I am*, ſaith he, *about a great worke, ſo that I cannot come down, why ſhould the worke ceaſe whiles I leave it, and come downe to you? Nehem. 6. 3.* A word to the wiſe is enough, I preſſe it no further.

Si præterlit tempus, præterijt ſacrificium. Druſ. *in prov. Non licet qui ſuo tempore non ſacrificat.*

5. Remove all the lets, Impediments, and ſtumbling blockes which hinder the propagation and ſpreading of Chriſts Kingdom among us, whether things or perſons, whatſoever cannot ſhew its pedegree from heaven, out with it, what ſhould it do amongſt us; That which never came from heaven, can never be a meanes to carry us thither: the Temple of God may not be built with the materialls of *Babylon*, we ſhould not take *a ſtone from thence for a corner, nor for a foundation, Jer. 51. 16.* And thoſe perſons too that pretend ſo high for their divine originall, and cannot yet ſhew the Genealogy of it from the Scriptures, *They ſhould be as polluted, put from the Prieſthood, Neh. 6. 64.* But above all the other Impediments, that which gives ſourſe and life unto them, and is it ſelfe the greateſt, the faction I meane of *Rome*, and Antichriſt, let that be removed. If you be on the Lords ſide, caſt down *Jezebel* out at the windows; when that mother of whoredome and all her merchants, factors, and retainers, with all their *Babiloniſh* traſh and trumpery, the wares which they traffique in, is ſent packing away, and caſt like a mil-ſtone into the bottome of the Sea; then, and not before, begins that victorious and triumphant Song of the Elders, *Revel. 19. 6. Hallelujah, the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.*

This is your worke, oh ye worthies, and to quicken you to it, conſider, 1. How neceſſary it is, if we let ſlip this opportunity, in which the Kingdome of heaven ſeemes to come neere unto us, and to knock at our doores for admiſſion, we are an undone people, the Lord, if not admitted now, is like never to make us ſuch another offer, he will take his Kingdome from us, *and give it to ſome other Nation, that will bring forth the fruits thereof, Math. 21. 43.*

The uncleane ſpirit, which is in a good meaſure caſt out, will returne againe, and bring along ſeven other worſe ones with it, to take poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdome, and ſo our condition will be worſe then ever it was.

2. Its a glorious prize that we are called to be violent for, It is a

Kingdome, and who would not ſtraine hard for ſuch a booty, which once obtained, will more then countervaile all our care and coſt, our zeale and violence for it. The heathen man thought it great reaſon to offer violence even to Juſtice and Conſcience, if it were for a Kingdome. In other things he would have reſpect to juſt and right, but if a kingdome lay at the ſtake, and might be won, he held it no diſcretion to be over conſcientious, I commend not his reſolution in this, our Rule is, *Fiat juſtitia & ruat cælum*, let Juſtice be done, though the heavens fall; we muſt be violent to keepe faith and a good conſcience, not to put them from us, and this is the way to make *us all Kings and Prieſts unto our God*; they are of the family of heaven, and of the blood Royall, that are thus affected, *Revel.* 19. 26. *Chriſt at his laſt comming to deſtroy Anti-chriſt*, is ſaid, *to have his Name written, not onely upon his veſture, but upon his thigh too, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords:* Whats this? a name Written upon his thigh: ſomewhat an unproper ſituation; what ſhould a man do with a name written upon his thigh? But tis the place of generation, *Jacobs* 70. ſoules are ſaid to come out of his thigh, and thoſe choyce violent ſpirits, that follow Chriſt, in his warres againſt Antichriſt, as thoſe *Armies of heaven did*, ſpoken of before *verſ.* 14. They all came out of his thigh, were diſcended and propagated from him, by a divine worke of Regeneration, the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt refines the blood of the meaneſt perſons, and creates them a Regall pedegree.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἀδικεῖν, γὴν κρείττον. οὐδὲ τοιγαροῦν ὅσιον ἀδικεῖν, Eurip.

Vid. Riberam. Jeſuitam in com. ad hunc locum.

3 Its an honourable thing to be violent for the honour of our God and the good of a whole Kingdome; to do good to one is honourable, ſaid the Philoſopher, but to do good to a City or Nation, this is heroicall, how much more, when the honour of God and the happineſſe of three Kingdomes, that I may not ſay of Chriſtendom too, is infolded in one another.

Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν ἑνὶ εἶναι θεῖον δὲ ἔθνει ὅλῳ καὶ πόλει, Ariſt.

Saint *Paul* ſaies, *It's good to be alwayes zealouſly affected in a good thing*, *Gal.* 4. 16. Alwayes good; It was intended no doubt as a marke of honour, that Name which our Saviour for this cauſe impoſed upon one of the Apoſtles, when he called him *Simon Zelotes*, *Luke* 6. 15. The more zeale we have, the more honourable we are at all times, but to be zealous for God, as *Elias* was in evill times, to owne his cauſe *in an adulterous and ſinfull generation*, this is honourable indeed; yea, and I had almoſt ſaid meritorious, but howſoever tis thank-worthy to be ſure, in an eminent degree, *Luk.* 22. 28. 29

Hoc donum præ cæteris quæ-rebant eum Chriſto, Aug.

Ye are they that have continued with me, in my temptations, and what then, *I appoint unto you a Kingdom that ye may eate and drinke at my Table, and ſit on thrones, &c.* You ſee how well our Saviour takes it, when his ſervants cleave cloſe to him, and will ſtand for him in his temptations. If the right hand place in his Kingdome be reſerved for any more then others, it ſhall be kept for ſuch.

Martires ſunt Clariores & honoratiores in Eccleſi: cives. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 10.

5 The contrary diſpoſition is of it ſelfe baſe and unworthy, yea and of all other the moſt loathſome and abominable, *Revel.* 3. 15, 16. *Better key cold then onely lukewarme*, Its an argument we neither value God nor his Kingdome, when we are ſo dull and heartleſſe in our deſires and endeavours, as if the purchaſe we are about would not quit the coſt, nor be worth the paines that is required for it. When *Callidius* a *Roman* Orator, pleaded a cauſe very faintly, and made no ſhew of affection, *Tully* told him that ſure he was not in earneſt, otherwiſe the tide of paſſion would have beene up: In like manner when men are ſo lazie and languiſhing, ſo cold and ſlack in dealing for a Kingdome, Its a ſhrew'd argument againſt them, that ſure they are not in earneſt, they do but play with Religion; the precious treaſures of heaven are ſet before them, and they reſent them not at all, or but a very little, make no great haſte, are not a whit ſollicitous, take no paines about the matter, as if the things were of no great importance; they are very moderate and delicate in making towards them, neither that high hand that holds th for t h, nor that blood that bought them, nor that worth that is in them, workes much; but all is ſlighted: God comes waiting upon them with calls, and calls, and with gracious offers, and is not regarded; hence no doubt is this black cloud riſen, which darkens the heavens over us. The glory of God and the Salvation of our ſoules, we do nothing many of us but jeſt and dally with them. I have read of *Anaſtatius* the Emperor, that he was, by the hand of God, ſhot to death with a hot thunder-bolt, becauſe he was luke-warme in the Catholique cauſe, and not zealous againſt the *Arrian* faction.

Tu M. Callidi-niſi fingeres ſic ageres, Cic.

Magdeburg. Cent. 5.

6. In other things where the leaſt overture of gaine, honour, pleaſure, appeares, how eager are we panting after the duſt of the earth, as the Prophet ſpeakes, and ready to run our ſelves out of breath for it: if a rich purchaſe may be made, a profitable bargaine driven, an honourable and wealthy match gotten, or any ſuch other ſecular Commodity which we are affected with; oh then we are

are all upon the ſpur, upon the wing, no haſte, no alacrity, no labour, or diligence is thought too much, or but enough; now there is violence upon violence, all oares and ſailes, muſt now be plyed, and ſhall we be thus earneſt, for frivolous, unconcerning, low things, which we may have, and be never the better; want, and be never the worſe; and yet carry our ſelves in matters of eternity, as if we were all *Stoicks*, and had no paſſions about us? *Ferventiſſimi in terrenis, frigidiſſimi in cæleſtibus*, ſhall we be red hot as fire for earth, and key cold as any Ice for heaven?

7. If all this will not move, looke upon wicked men, how violent a bent have they to ſinne, *Their hearts are fully ſet to doe miſchiefe, Eccleſ. 9. 3. They inflame themſelves with Idols, Eſay 57. 5. They are as ſwift Dromedaries traverſing their waies, Jer. 2. 23. Their whole force is evill, and their courſe not right, Jer. 23. 10.* How violent were the *Iſraelites* for their Idolatry, *when they offered their ſonnes and daughters unto Devills, Deut. 32. 17.* Had they ſo much devotion for Idols, and have we ſo little for the true God? what care did they not take? what coſt did they not caſt away, when they *made haſte*, as *David* hath it, *to poure out meate and drink offerings, to another God? Pſal. 16. 4.* and ſhall we eſteeme our true God and Religion at ſuch a low under-hand rate, as if gold and ſilver were too deare and precious then to be offered up upon the ſacrifice and ſervice of them? as if hell and lyes were pearles never over-bought, but truth and heaven meere traſh and nothing worth; ſince they would doe any thing, for the one, and we nothing for the other.

Ad flagellationem noſtram hæc dicta ſint, ſi non præſtet fides quod præſtitit infidelitas, Hier.

8. Looke upon your enemies, how more then Hyperbolically violent they are, in carrying on their deſigne of *Rome* and Hell; how furious is their march? how reſolute are their ſpirits? how quick their endeavours? how do they compaſſe ſea and land, to *Spaine, France, Holland, Denmarke*, whither do they not diſpatch their Emiſſaries? what vaſte treaſures do they not lay out, what expence of blood do they ſtick at, what ſtones do they not roll? what concluſions do they not try? what project have they not hammered? what corner of the earth have they not ſearched, even till hell from beneath was moved to meete them; and all to drive their deſperate and pernicious deſigne, to caſt downe, if it were poſſible, Jeſus Chriſt out of his Throne, and to ſet up *Belzebub* in his roome; hedging, fencing, planting, watering, what could

could they have done more for that wilde vine, that falſe Antichriſtian Religion and Church, *which is the vine of the earth*, and not of heaven, it having no rooting, growth, nor bleſſing thence? *Rev.* 14. 11. If there be any to whom the *Syrens* voyce ſounds ſweete: Heark what Father *Campian* profeſſeth of himſelfe and his fellow Jeſuites, *Quamdiu vel vnus quiſpiam e nobis ſupererit, qui Tiburno veſtro fruatur, fruatur*, that is his word, whiles there was any of them left to enjoy a Tyburn tippet, as old Biſhop *Latimer* was wont to ſpeak, whiles any of them remained for the gallowes, torment, and impriſonment, they vowed never to deſiſt nor let fall their weather-beaten cauſe: and what ſhall we be coole and moderate, when they are ſo extreame violent? *Acrius illi ad perniciem quam nos ad ſalutem*, Shall they be more zealous to procure their owne and others deſtruction, temporall and eternall, then we for our owne and others Salvation?

9 If we be reſolute, we ſhall prevaile and carry away the prize which we are contending for: This ſhould have been a doctrine entire of it ſelfe: I onely touch it, and but lightly too, as a motive to quicken us up. What will not men do upon uncertaine, and often, moſt unlikely hopes, to advantage themſelves; but we have this hope as an Anchor, ſure and ſtedfaſt, That if we be violent for it, this Kingdome is ours; none can hinder us of it, ſuch as *ſell all, ſhall have the pearle, Mat.* 13. 44. Thoſe that ſhrinke not from Chriſt in his *temptations for feare of the Croſſe*, when he comes in *his glory, they ſhall ſit upon thrones, and raigne with him, Luke* 22. 28. and for the publique cauſe, now depending, whiles we continue faithfull with, and ſtout for God, feare not the iſſue; let the oppoſitions be what they will, *all thoſe great Mountaines before Zerubbabel, ſhall become a plaine, Zach.* 4. 8. The Lord reignes, though the earth be never ſo unquiet, he will bring about his deſigne, when men and devills have done their worſt. What though the pillars of the Land tremble, and all the foundations of it ſhake, as in an earth quake; what though we be in danger whiles we are ſo violent for heaven, to loſe all we have on earth, as the Orator ſometimes told the *Athenians*, yet we ſhall not have an haires harme, *If we ſerve our God with reverence and godly feare, we ſhall receive a Kingdome, that cannot be ſhaken, Heb.* 12. 28. Unto the which God of his infinite mercy bring us, through the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus, who hath purchaſed it for us, To whom, &c.

Videte ne dum cælum deſtudimus, terram amittamus, Dem. ad Athan.

FINIS.

Die Mercurii 29. Maii. 1644.

IT is this day Ordered by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, That Mr *Harman* do from this Houſe give thankes unto Maſter *Hall*, for the great paines he tooke in the Sermon he preached this day, at the intreaty of this Houſe, at St *Margarets* Weſtminſter, (it being the day of publique Humiliation) and to deſire him to Print his Sermon. And it is Ordered that none ſhall preſume to Print his Sermon, not being licenced under his hand writing.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

Hen. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint *Samuel Gellibrand* to Print my Sermon.

HEN. HALL.